

Conceptions of Citizenship and Civic Education:
Lessons from Three Israeli Civics Classrooms

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
under the Executive Committee
of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

2013

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ABSTRACT

CONCEPTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIC EDUCATION: LESSONS FROM THREE ISRAELI CIVICS CLASSROOMS

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Based on the notion that philosophical assumptions and educational aims are important factors that gear educational processes, this study focuses on the ways in which teachers' assumptions and goals regarding citizenship influence their teaching of civics. The research of this topic is pursued based on a set of comparative analytic case studies that observe different ways in which conceptions of the notion of *good citizenship* manifest in three Israeli high school civics classrooms. This study draws from the research traditions of grounded theory, the use of ideal types, as well as the principles of the qualitative instrumental collective case study approach.

This study's main finding is the identification of a stark disparity between the conceptions of citizenship that are promoted in each of the three cases, despite the a-priori similarities between them. This disparity results in the enactment of very different types of civics lessons as well as influences the goals, the relation to the curriculum standards, and the pedagogies implemented in these three settings. As a result of these findings, three ideal types of citizenship and civic education (CCE) are presented, reflecting these different approaches: (1) disciplined CCE; (2) participatory CCE; and (3) critical CCE.

The importance of these findings is in the illumination of a civic education gap, relating to these differences. Following the scholarly discourse surrounding this topic, this study contributes to the understanding that not only is there a gap regarding the civic experiences and opportunities to which the students are exposed, but that the fundamental meaning of the term *good citizenship* is interpreted and promoted in a varying fashion. This focus, on the ways in which these different conceptions influence and reinforce the reality of the civic education gap, forges the connections between these two fields of study, a connection that yet has to be acknowledged in the literature.

In fact, this civic education gap implies to the contextual factor of social inequality as it reflects in the classroom settings, in relation to this specific subject matter. An explanation for this gap is the central role that the civics teachers hold, in relation to their students' opinions, academic levels and socio-economic backgrounds. With the help of the theoretical concepts of *civic abandonment* and *civic activity*, which relate to the individual's civic identity in relation to the country in which s/he lives, this study documents ways in which teachers frame their civics lessons in congruence to their own perception of their students' civic orientations. In this manner this study points to the dangers of such a reality in which teachers choose to promote civic ideals that do not recognize the complexity and multiplicity of this topic.

Based on these findings, a presentation of pedagogical strategies as well as a descriptive theoretical model of the civic education process will be brought forth, utilizing these different approaches to CCE. This presentation will potentially support teachers in designing holistic educational experiences that touch on a variety of CCE conceptions. This stands in contrast to the current reality in which such conceptions are dealt with as mutually exclusive. In this

manner, this study promotes the belief that all students should have equitable access to the knowledge, values and dispositions that are crucial for any democratic citizen.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my thanks to the three teachers who invited me into their classrooms and into their thoughts. I also wish to thank Professor William Gaudelli who served as my advisor, sponsor and mentor throughout this process. In addition, I extend my thanks to Professors Anand Marri and Margaret Crocco who guided me along the way.

I am grateful for the support I received from teachers, colleagues, friends and family in Israel and the U.S.A. It is from your thoughts and actions that I learned the true meaning of the term fellow citizen.

INTRODUCTION

“While Zionism, as a political issue, has never interested me, I am impressed with Palestine culturally, for the stimulus it is giving to Jewish thought. I think the Hebrew University is doing remarkable work. Especially devoted to the cultivation of Jewish thought and to maintaining the spiritual tradition of the Jewish people, it is also going to facilitate the better understanding of that thought by the world at large. It will start a current that will carry it, not only among the Jews themselves, but to others, and in this I see the best medium the Jews have for bringing better understanding between the races.” John Dewey (as cited in Finkel, 1937, pp. 198-199).

In what may be seen as a convenient coincidence, while in the process of writing this study a dramatic public affair unfolded, touching on the exact issue that this study wished to understand.

On August 5th, 2012 the Israeli public learned that the director general of the Ministry of Education had fired Mr. Adar Cohen, the state-wide supervisor of civics studies (Nesher, 2012).

Cohen was fired due to what was presented by the officials at the Ministry as “professional failures,” specifically regarding the approval of a controversial civics textbook. Cohen, along with more than 500 teachers and academics who signed a public petition against his dismissal, argued that his replacement was due to political, not professional, reasons. They explained that Cohen’s professional agenda of advancing a substantial mode of teaching citizenship in a democratic regime, while illuminating universal issues such as the importance of human rights, was opposed by those who wished to emphasize the nationalistic aspects of citizenship in Israel. This nationalistic approach was endorsed directly by the current Minister of Education, Gideon Sa’ar, who in the past had made it clear that he wishes to emphasize the unconditional affiliations and commitments that students should acquire toward the nation and toward the state (Kashti, 2010).

Cohen's dismissal was followed by numerous op-ed pieces in the Israeli media, the initiation of a Facebook page and the assembly of an emergency session of the Israeli parliament's Education, Culture and Sports Committee. Cohen became a household name and his picture appeared in the daily newspapers. Stories regarding his dismissal were prominent in both television and radio news reports.

This incident is a tangible example of the Israeli reality, in which the fundamental meaning of the term citizen is still highly questioned, debated and contested (Avnon, 2006). Cohen represents a mode of citizenship that puts emphasis on the individual's rights and experiences. Minister Sa'ar, on the other hand, represents a conception of Israeli citizenship that puts emphasis on the feelings of affiliation between the individual and the larger national entity. It seems as if the clash between these two competing conceptions was inevitable. This incident illuminated the exact reality that I wished to portray: the reality of teaching high school civics amidst these competing conceptions of citizenship. By concentrating on this universal topic in this specific setting, I hope to add my own modest contribution to the "current of understanding between the races" that scholars such as Dewey taught us to strive for through education.

In "Democracy and Education," Dewey (1916) explained that:

The scheme of a curriculum must take account of the adaptation of studies to the needs of the existing community life; it must select with the intention of improving the life we live in common so that the future shall be better than the past" (p. 191).

This approach to curriculum reflects the main impetus of this study – the will to examine, document and analyze the enactment of the teaching of civics in Israel today while taking into account the influences of multiple factors, most importantly, factors such as the social and political contexts in which this educational process takes place. Thus this study wishes to set the educational process of citizenship and civic education in a larger theoretical framework, examining it from several parallel prisms such as theories of ideology, pedagogy, curriculum and social and political contexts.

The main focus of this study is the undercurrent assumptions and philosophical aims that guide teachers engaged in the process of citizenship and civic education. This choice is based on the notion that such assumptions and aims are important factors that must be considered as part of the educational process (Britzman, 2003; Lamm, 2001). The scrutiny of these underlying conceptions of citizenship and civic education was pursued by a case study research that observed the different ways in which conceptions of the term citizenship were manifest in the experiences of three Israeli high school civics teachers. Throughout the study I utilized a qualitative instrumental collective case study approach (Stake, 1995) influenced by the research traditions of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and the use of ideal types (Weber, 1949).

The main finding of the study is the identification of a stark disparity regarding the very notion of citizenship that was promoted in each one of the three cases, despite the a priori similarities between them. This disparity resulted in the enactment of very different civics lessons, influencing the goals, the relation to the curriculum standards and the pedagogies that were utilized in these three settings. As a result of these findings, three ideal types of citizenship

and civic education were composed, reflecting these different conceptions: (1) disciplined civic education; (2) participatory civic education; and (3) critical civic education.

The significance of these findings is in the illumination of a civic education gap between the schools, relating to these anthropological differences. Following the scholarly discourse of this topic (Kahne & Middaugh, 2008; Levinson, 2007, 2012), this case study contributes to the understanding that, not only is there a gap regarding the civic experiences and opportunities that the students were exposed to, but that the fundamental conception of the term *good citizenship* was interpreted and promoted in a varied fashion. In this manner, this study forges connections between two areas of study that have been related to separately in the literature. The study shows that by choosing a certain conception of citizenship to be promoted in the classroom, teachers may in fact be reinforcing the reality of social inequality. To the best of my knowledge, this connection between the conceptions of citizenship and the reality of a civic education gap has yet to be explored.

Therefore, my central claim to be presented herein is that this civic education gap indicates a reality of social inequality as it is manifested in the three classroom settings in relation to this specific subject matter. This gap between these cases suggests that students are experiencing significant differences in their orientation to the citizenship and civic education process: one group of students, mainly from the higher socio-economic status and higher academic level, were exposed to the critical approach to citizenship despite the fact that these students are affiliated with families and social groups that take advantage of the social and political structures. On the other hand, most of the students from the lower socio-economic status

and lower academic levels were not given this opportunity. Instead, their experience concentrated mainly on the narrow and disciplined approach to citizenship.

One explanation for this gap is the central role of the teachers in relation to the context of the school in which they teach as well as in relation to their students' opinions, academic levels and socio-economic backgrounds. With the help of the theoretical concepts of *civic abandonment* and *civic activity*, which were coined as a result of this research, I concluded that in fact each of the teachers that participated in this study framed the civics lessons in a manner that was in congruence to their perception of their students' approach to citizenship. In the case where the teacher saw his students as apathetic (*abandonment*), he promoted the disciplined model of citizenship and civic education in order to rebuild the students' trust in the national institutions and political system. Next, in the case where the teacher saw her students as individuals who have the potential to take part in the political field but seldom do so (between *abandonment* and *activity*), she promoted the participatory conception of civic education in order to convince them to become fully active and engaged citizens. Finally, in the case in which the teacher knew that his students already have the ability to understand their political surroundings and have enough social capital to influence it (*activity*), he promoted the critical conception of civic education, in an attempt to frame their future civic actions.

I have a deep appreciation of the sensibilities of the teachers who took part in this study. Nevertheless, it is important to note that while each of them tried to relate to their students' contexts, their choice to promote mainly one monolithic conception of citizenship and civic education reinforced social inequalities, specifically regarding the students' access to other conceptions as well. From this study we learn that in failing to relate to the multiplicity of the

civic experiences that their students may potentially have, students who are in the most need of enhancing their civic awareness and dispositions in order to enable their social mobility are not being exposed to the participatory and critical conceptions to citizenship and civic education that could have this affect. In this sense, this examination of the Israeli setting, which is characterized by deep social and political rifts due to the lack of a clear public civic tradition, contributes to our general theoretical understandings of the teaching of civics in relation to such a reality of social diversity in a fragile democracy.

Based on these findings, I propose a theoretical model of the citizenship and civic education process that combines these different conceptions that were identified in this study, in an inclusive manner. Implicit in this objective is my claim that all three of these conceptions, as well as additional conceptions, have authentic value as lenses for examining democratic citizenship and thus should be included in the citizenship and civic education process. This model enables teachers to design a holistic educational experience that touches on such different conceptions of citizenship and civic education instead of relating to them as mutually exclusive. It is my hope that such a model will help ensure that all students have equal access to the knowledge, values and dispositions in a broad fashion that is crucial for any citizen living in a democracy.

These notions will be presented and further developed over the following five chapters: in this introductory chapter, I will present the problem statement and main research questions that guided the study as well as an overview of the topic of citizenship in Israel. In the following Review of the Literature and Theoretical Framework chapter, I will summarize the main arguments and debates regarding the academic field of citizenship and civic education as well as

offer an overview of the teaching of civics in the framework of the Israeli educational system. Next, the Methodology chapter will help in bounding this study, displaying its main methodological considerations. The main findings of this study will be presented in the Data, Findings and Analysis chapter along with an initial analysis of the data obtained. Finally, in the Discussion and Implications chapter, I will present my main insights regarding this topic, connecting the findings of this specific study to larger universal themes.

With regard to language, it is important to mention that all of the data obtained for this study was conducted in the Hebrew language. Please note that the direct quotes relating to this data were all translated to English by me, while attempting to conserve the speakers' original meanings and voice. In addition, in cases in which there was no other option, I refer to resources that were written in Hebrew, while citing them based on the APA guidelines for non-English resources.

Theoretical Assumptions

Over the years, different terms have been used in an attempt to capture and describe the educational experiences that deal with the task of developing democratic minded citizens. Terms such as *civic education*, *citizenship education*, *social education*, *moral education* and *democratic education* are just a few examples that can be found in the literature. An important first distinction to be considered in this regard is the difference between education for citizenship in a democratic state vis-à-vis education for non-democratic citizenship. Whereas studies regarding this educational process in authoritarian regimes do exist (Navehebrahim & Masoudi, 2011;

Zhong & Lee, 2008), I chose to root this study in a clear value-based and normative assumption declaring that, in order to advance this field of study, we should concentrate mainly on the discourse regarding education for a democratic mode of citizenship.

A second important distinction that exists in the literature attempts to clarify the difference between the two widespread terms *civic education* and *citizenship education*. Scholars such as McLaughlin (1992) and Kerr (1999) offer to see the former term as connected to a narrow and mainly procedural mode of citizenship and the latter to a much wider and substantial mode of citizenship. Unfortunately, this type of distinction did not take root in the discourse, and today, we find both of these terms applied in the literature indiscriminately.

Throughout this study, I deliberately chose to use the term citizenship and civic education that will be presented with the use of the abbreviation CCE. This term encompasses another important assumption that framed this study, regarding the connections between the theoretical mode of citizenship being aspired to and the educational practice implemented in order to achieve this goal. In this manner, the chosen term citizenship and civic education (CCE) emphasizes the connection between these two components – the philosophical conception of citizenship and the educational practice of civic education.

The field of CCE¹ continues to raise numerous questions and pose ongoing challenges in countries across the globe (Hahn & Alviar-Martin, 2008; Lee & Fouts, 2005; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). Whereas it is generally agreed upon that CCE may be defined as the process of “help[ing] young people acquire and learn to use the skills, knowledge,

¹ As mentioned, please note that I will use this abbreviation throughout this work.

and attitudes that will prepare them to be competent and responsible citizens throughout their lives” (Gibson & Levine, 2003, p. 4), one of the main challenges of this field is that it is composed of an abundance of both theoretical and empirical studies that create a true embarrassment of riches. As Kerr (1999) mentions regarding this issue, “this breadth and complexity is both a strength and a weakness” (p. 2).

Levstik and Tyson (2008), writing in regard to the U.S.A. context, categorized the large spectrum of this field of study into five broad categories: (1) U.S.A. democracy; (2) cross-national comparisons; (3) discussion and decision making; (4) service learning; and (5) cosmopolitan and multicultural education. Cotton (2001) also offers an extensive overview of this field of study after surveying 93 scholarly items. She divided this area of study into three main categories: (1) studies of the relationships between educational practices and students’ civic outcomes; (2) critiques, concept papers and reports regarding such studies; and (3) papers that concentrate on general and specific student populations. Regarding the Israeli setting, Barak and Ofarim (2009) surveyed over 142 Israeli CCE programs including high schools, NGO’s and teacher preparation institutions in an attempt to describe the current state of this field in the Israeli context.

From these examples we learn that there is a true need to bind the research in the field of CCE to more specific aspects of this general educational process. I chose to concentrate on two main aspects of the discourse in this field, which have helped in outlining this dissertation project. The first is the choice to study the topic of conceptions of CCE that gear practice. This choice is influenced by the notion of aims talk, presented by Thornton (2005), who defines aims as the “broad statements of educational aspiration” (p. 47). He explains that building awareness

to the original aims of an educational process is essential in order to create a meaningful experience in the classroom, and that “avoiding aims talk may be the loss of our deepest-seated educational aspiration in the daily grind of classrooms” (p. 56).

Of course, when evaluated in the classroom setting, such aims do not exist in isolation to other practical considerations. Nevertheless, Alexander (2009) presents the importance of concentrating on such ethical and conceptual aspects of teaching, explaining that:

Teaching is an intentional and moral activity: it is undertaken for a purpose and is validated by reference to educational goals and social principles as well as to operational efficacy. In any culture it requires attention to a range of considerations and imperatives: pragmatic, certainly, but also empirical, ethical and conceptual (p. 9).

Inspired by the biblical proverb, “where there is no vision, the people perish” (Proverbs 29:18 King James Version), and based on previous studies, it is clear that philosophical conceptions of citizenship function as such ethical aspirations and gear the educational practice. This notion was brought forth for example in the well-known study by Westheimer and Kahne (2004), who explained that the practice of CCE is influenced first and foremost by predispositions regarding conceptions of citizenship and that the choice of a specific conception is not arbitrary, but rather influenced by a clear political ideology that must be acknowledged. In their work that dealt with teachers’ perceptions, Lee and Fouts (2005) have also displayed the importance of focusing on ideological conceptions of citizenship. In her work on liberal education, Levinson (1999) explains that civic conceptions “play an important role in shaping the political and educational debate” (p. 2). In other words, to paraphrase Thornton’s (2005) remark

regarding educational aims, it is my opinion that conceptions of CCE “are at work whether we like it or not” (p. 47), and thus their importance.

The second aspect of the study of CCE that I chose to relate to is the prominence of the international perspective. Numerous comparative studies have discussed the practices of CCE in different countries across the globe (Hahn, 1998; Lee & Fouts, 2005; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). In a recent piece, Hahn (2010) reviews the state of the research in this regard and calls to focus the future scholarship of CCE on the influence of classroom instruction on the students’ civic knowledge, attitudes and behaviors as seen from the international comparative perspective. The importance of such a perspective, she explains, lies in the opportunity it offers to enrich the conversation of CCE based on multiple cases and sources. This notion of course is not new, and has been the main rationale for many international related studies in various fields. A prominent example that clarifies the importance of such international comparisons, which is relevant for this study as well, was presented by the well-acclaimed anthropologist Margaret Mead (1928) in relation to her research of the uprising of adolescent girls in Samoa. In the summary chapter, she explained that:

Whether or not we envy other peoples one of their solutions, our attitude towards our own solutions must be greatly broadened and deepened by a consideration of the way in which other peoples have met the same problems. Realising that our own ways are not humanly inevitable nor God-ordained, but are the fruit of a long and turbulent history, we may well examine in turn all of our institutions, thrown into strong relief against the history of other civilizations, and weighing them in the balance, be not afraid to find them wanting (p. 153).

Therefore, in addition to adding this important contribution to the general discourse, it is my belief that Israel makes for an interesting case study due to the intensity of social and political issues as they play out in everyday experiences, as presented for example in the case of the Civics Studies supervisor detailed above. It is exactly such cases that enable a true investigation of the undercurrent ideologies and social and political realities that influence the educational philosophies, pedagogies and curriculum in relation to this topic. Hence, the importance of this study should not be seen only in its contribution of an additional case study to the global discourse of this subject, but rather as an opportunity to examine the substantive issues raised in comparison to various national settings.

The relative newness of Israeli democracy, which was established in 1948, and the dramatic political and social context in which the state exists, offer a potential for invigorating studies. And indeed, the Israeli context has been the center for several studies related to the topic of CCE. Based on Dewey's (1916) famous notion of democracy as "a mode of associative living" (p. 87), the task of maintaining a strong democratic society is a challenge that the people of Israel face on a daily basis. For example, in a study from 1989 dedicated to youth's perspectives on democracy, Ichilov, Bar Tal and Mazawi (1989) found that students had difficulties applying democratic principles when engaging in social controversies. A more recent quantitative study based on questionnaires received from 718 students from five Israeli high schools showed that civics classes had only minor effects on the students' democratic attitudes (Perliger, Canetti-Nisim, & Pedahzur, 2006).

An additional avenue of study regarding CCE in Israel has been the conceptions of citizenship as perceived by youth of different social and minority groups. Eisikovits (2005), for

example, concentrated on immigrants from the former U.S.S.R. countries. She found that non-democratic notions of citizenship, which were rooted in youths' experiences in the non-democratic migrant states, still had influence in their new democratic home state. These immigrant students were reluctant to engage in discussions of political and social issues conducted in the classroom and saw them as modes of indoctrination by the government. Ichilov (2005) concentrated on the Arab minority and has compared their conceptions of citizenship to those of non-Arab students. She examined three different aspects, including the trust that the students had in the political institutions, the responsiveness of government and their own sense of personal efficacy. She found that students from both ethnic groups suffered from a low degree of trust in these three aspects.

Thus, the picture that emerges regarding the reality of the CCE process in the Israeli context is grim. The conclusion of Perliger, Canetti-Nisim and Pedahzur's (2006) study mentioned above, that civics classes have *reduced* the tendency of students to become politically involved is a sad reflection of this general reality. In this context, this study may be seen as an attempt to explain how the teaching of civics in Israel has reached this troubling situation.

Inspired by Thornton's (2005) claim that "there is no surer road to educational problems than teachers who do not understand the purpose of their actions" (p. 45), it is my belief that concentrating on the conceptions of CCE will help understand the ongoing challenges of the teaching of civics in Israel today. As will be presented following, the concentration on the Israeli case study will offer an opportunity to examine this translation of ideologies into educational practices from a comparative perspective, and thus will offer new important theoretical insights, relevant for other states struggling with such issues.

Problem Statement and Research Questions

The common denominator across CCE studies is the interest in examining what types of citizens the state wants to cultivate and how to implement that concept within an educational framework (Parker, 2008). When dealing with this practical aspect it is important to point out that the field of CCE may be seen both as an independent and a dependent variable, influencing the characteristics of citizenship on the one hand but also influenced by larger cultural, philosophical and practical perceptions on the other. This study will concentrate mainly on CCE as seen in the latter sense, questioning the ways in which different ontological and epistemological conceptions of citizenship and education influence the CCE process.

The primary research question of this study was framed as follows: *What different conceptions of citizenship and civic education are manifest in three Israeli civics classrooms?* This question is based on the assumption that new and important insights can be learned from the observations of real-life settings and lived experiences. Inspired by scholars such as Glaser and Strauss (1967), Geertz (1973) and Britzman (2003), I have adopted the approach that enables the researcher to touch upon practical knowledge and thus provide some insights regarding how we understand the educational arena. The purpose of such research is not to simply supply a description of what occurs in a classroom, but rather to explore the ways different ideas, narratives and ideologies unfold in reality. As Britzman (2003) explains, the main purpose of this exploration is not to supply correct answers but rather to “push[ing] the sensibilities of readers in new directions” (p. 254). In this case I hope to raise the readers’ awareness of the ways in which the diverse social reality influences educational processes.

In order to answer this research question, I used an instrumental collective case study (Stake, 1995), while aspiring to offer a “thick description” (Geertz, 1973) of the structure, curriculum and pedagogy implemented in the CCE process as well as the experiences of the teachers engaged in this process. I employed observations, semi-structured interviews and document analysis as my research methods. The data obtained was analyzed through categorical aggregation (Creswell, 2007) and through the development of categories and themes.

Based on this question and these methodological assumptions, the importance of this study was in finding answers to the following secondary research questions as well:

1. How do three Israeli civics teachers conceptualize CCE?
2. Are the three Israeli civics teachers aware of the different conceptions of CCE as they are expressed in the classroom activities? What different factors influence this awareness?
3. How do the Israeli civics teachers deal with contradictions between their personal conceptions of CCE and the conceptions that appear in the official curriculum or those presented by the students?

These questions are based on the assumption that the teacher’s awareness of the plurality of different conceptions is a crucial aspect of creating a meaningful learning experience. This is based on general studies dealing with this topic of teacher awareness and reflection (Newmann, King, & Youngs, 2000; Sherin & Van Es, 2005; Van Es & Sherin, 2002) as well as more specific studies set in the context of social studies education (Crocco & Libresco, 2007; Gaudelli, 2005).

Therefore, I approached this study with an interest in understanding what factors influence the awareness of teachers to the different conceptions of CCE and how the teachers

interact with this plurality in the civics lessons. The factors that I wished to examine included the socio-economic status of the student body, the teachers' previous experiences, the interaction between the teacher, the students and the curriculum, and the specific pedagogies that are employed.

As mentioned, this study attempts to better understand the teaching of civics in Israel in relation to social and political factors. In order to better understand the connections between citizenship and education in this Israeli context, in the following I offer a short overview of the topic of citizenship in Israel that should be seen as an essential threshold to this study. In the same manner, overviews of the Israeli educational system and of the teaching of civics within this system will be presented in the following Review of the Literature and Theoretical Framework chapter.

Citizenship in Israel

The well-known Columbia professor of social sciences, Charles Tilly (1997), defined citizenship in a democratic state as follows: "rights and mutual obligations binding state agents and a category of persons defined exclusively by their legal attachment to the same state" (p. 198). This definition stresses the idea that democratic citizenship includes both the equal access to rights and the commitment to mutual obligations on behalf of the citizens, such as paying taxes and serving in the state military. The relationship between the citizen's rights and obligations is what stands at the heart of the debates regarding citizenship in Israel ever since the Jewish-democratic state was founded in 1948.

As Shachar (1998) explains, “citizenship means drawing borders” (p. 233), mainly between those who are members of the political entity and those who are not. She adds that such membership is usually based on legal status, shared history and a sense of identity. In the State of Israel, citizenship status is defined foremost by the state Law of Return (“Israel Law of Return,” 1950). This law, written in the aftermath of World War II, is seen as the *raison d’être* of the existence of the Jewish state, determining that “every Jew has the right to come to this country as an *oleh* (immigrant to Israel)” (“Israel Law of Return,” 1950). Thus this law fulfills the fundamental Zionist aspiration of a national homeland for any Jew from around the world.

The Israeli Citizenship Law (“Israel Nationality Law,” 1952) defines cases in which non-Jews can acquire Israeli citizenship: by residence, birth or naturalization. Shachar (1998) points to the fact that in a comparative lens, the Israeli citizenship law is not more restrictive than the immigration laws of other countries. Nevertheless, the fact that one particular ethnic group has unrestricted and unquestionable access to citizenship influences the basic perception of Israeli citizenship, creating different statuses among citizens who, *de jure*, should be treated equally.

This short description demonstrates the ongoing challenges that Israeli citizens face on a daily basis. Therefore, it is not surprising that the editors of the journal *Citizenship Studies* dedicated a special issue to the topic of citizenship in Israel. The writers of the editorial piece of this issue explain these challenges clearly:

The dual commitment of the state of Israel as ‘Jewish and democratic’ presents a combined challenge to the balance between them (Jewishness and democracy) and a challenge to them separately. What is it that defines Jewish identity? What is it that defines the democratic character of modern Israel? Not only, therefore, does the presence

of the Arab minority challenge the overall definition of the Jewish state and its ability to be democratic, but religious and secular Jews are also involved in a contest over the meaning of the Jewish state and the actual role of religion in the public sphere (Ben-Porat & Turner, 2008, p. 195).

Ultimately, the discourse regarding citizenship in Israel may be portrayed as an ongoing debate regarding the inclusion of all citizens of the state and a questioning of the will of these citizens to contribute to this state. The marginalization of Israeli Arab citizens, who are exempt from the mandatory military service, for example, reflect the continuing problems of this equation between rights and obligations. In addition, the ongoing armed conflicts with its neighboring Arab countries, the continuing mass immigrations, such as those from the former U.S.S.R. countries, as well as universal phenomena such as globalization all inflame this debate and turn citizenship in Israel into a highly contested field (Avnon, 2006).

Based on the study of such debates, Ben-Porat and Turner (2008) identify the three main issues that characterize citizenship in Israel today: (1) a tension between the multicultural secular state and the political aspirations of religious groups, namely the ultra-orthodox Jews, that do not acknowledge the existence of the state in this secular form; (2) the contradiction between the ideal of equal citizenship of the democratic state and the exclusionary status of Israel's Jewish citizens; and (3) the demand of inclusion by different minorities as they relate to their obligations toward the state.

Shafir and Peled (2002) offer a comprehensive approach of examining Israeli history through the lens of these citizenship debates. They come to the conclusion that the commonly

accepted binary between the Jewish and democratic aspects of citizenship in Israel is unsatisfactory and thus offer a more critical view that undermines years of academic research. They point to three competing modes of citizenship that in their view dominated the discourse over the years. These include: (1) a republican mode of citizenship that was emphasized in relation to the Zionist movement and to the founding of the state; (2) an ethno-national mode that has defined Israel as a Jewish state; and (3) a liberal mode of citizenship that has enabled the existence of a democratic regime while supplying the formal rights to the non-Jewish citizens of the state.

Based on this historic analysis, Shafir and Peled (2002) offer a practical suggestion in order to advance the liberal multi-cultural mode of citizenship that they aspire to. For example, they point to several arguments raised by representatives of the Arab minority that demonstrate their authentic will to become true equal citizens of the Jewish state. They critique Israeli Jews who overlook such demands and call to incorporate such discussions into the public discourse.

Reaching beyond this theoretical debate, a good way of measuring the pulse of citizenship in Israel is offered by the Israel Democracy Institute that publishes the annual Israeli Democracy Index. This index is in fact a longitudinal opinion survey touching on several issues and topics regarding citizenship in Israel (Arian, Nachmias, Navot, & Shani, 2003). This index may be seen as a snapshot of the reality regarding the Israeli citizens' opinions toward their life in the state.

The results of an analysis of the 2011 index (Hermann et al., 2011) show that a majority of the Jewish population wished to retain the definition of Israel as both a Jewish and democratic state. When asked to define these components, the majority associated democracy in terms of

freedom; whereas, the Jewish component was defined in the nationalistic sense. Interestingly, among the non-Jewish population, democracy was defined as the protection of minorities' rights. In addition, the majority of both Jewish and non-Jewish participants favored the current mode of representative democracy as opposed to the rule of a strong leader. One disturbing finding of the survey was that the majority of the participants evaluated the performance of the present government and elected officials at an all-time low. This correlates with the finding that most participants expressed "very powerful feelings that the ordinary citizen has no way to influence political decisions ... despite the very high level of interest and involvement in politics" (p. 15). These findings also reassured the assumption that the ultra-orthodox Jewish population is distinct in their views from the general Israeli population. Despite this fact, other subgroups seemed to share their views regarding life in the state and thus the authors refute a popular pessimistic claim, stating that "it would be incorrect nonetheless to say that contemporary Israeli society is 'falling apart' " (p. 16).

So, it seems that the issues regarding citizenship in the state of Israel are far from being resolved and will likely persist for years to come. A fundamental question that emerges from this overview is how civic identity plays out in this specific context. It is in this convoluted reality that civics teachers engage in the task of educating toward what they see as good citizenship, based on the different definitions and conceptions of CCE that relate to their students' own personal civic identity. It is this very connection between the debates regarding citizenship in Israel and the questions of how to educate toward the conception of democratic citizenship that stands at the heart of this study. In consideration of the connections between these debates, throughout this study I will present the issue of citizenship in Israel as a curricular issue,

questioning as a whole the connections between education, citizenship and education toward citizenship.

This description of citizenship in Israel, and the current state of the Israeli democracy, may resemble the civic reality in other countries that are also dealing with similar tensions and issues (Hermann et al., 2011, Puddington, 2013). The Israeli case is interesting in this regard due to the fact that it represents the struggles in a country in which democracy is still questioned and as a culture is not fully rooted. Therefore, in contrast to other states such as the U.S.A. in which democratic culture is more established, the findings of this study may contribute to the ongoing global discussion regarding CCE in countries that share similar conditions.

Significance of the Study

This study's main contribution has to do with the concentration on educational goals and aspirations and the ways in which these are manifest in classroom settings in relation to the larger social and political contexts. In this manner this study will add to the existing research regarding the influence of such philosophical conceptions of CCE, while offering a new international perspective. As mentioned, this national setting was chosen due to the fact that such social issues are so evident in the Israeli reality. In this regard, I will evaluate the different factors that have influence on this educational process, such as the teachers' own personal conceptions, the socio-economic status of the students' bodies and the academic levels of the schools.

In addition, the examination of the three cases will enable a structured comparison of the commonalities and differences between them, thus offering, as mentioned above, new insights regarding the issue of social disparities related to the CCE process, particularly regarding the role of teachers in framing and reinforcing such conditions. Based on these findings, this study will also offer some practical implications such as a typology of the different conceptions of CCE, a model of the CCE process as well as a list of pedagogical strategies that are related to this specific subject matter. It is my hope that this study and such practical implications will help enhance the CCE process and may be seen as a true attempt to live up to Dewey's (1916) call to enhance "the life we live in common" (p. 191).

Limitations

Due to the fact that this study was set in the tradition of qualitative educational research, the ability to create generalizations based on these findings is limited. It is important to remember that the main goal of this study was not to offer a general representation of the teaching of civics in Israel today. Rather, it should be seen as a snapshot of a specific place and time that was influenced to an extent by my own subjective ideas and goals.

Another limitation of this study is the fact that it took place in similar educational settings – all belonging to the high school level of the Jewish secular track of the Israeli educational system in the same city, while preparing for the identical Bagrut matriculation exam. This of course was a purposeful choice continuing numerous comparative studies that choose to

concentrate on most similar cases, reflecting the will to illuminate the diversity that exists even within such close cases.

And finally, one important factor that exceeded the scope of this limited study was the evaluation of the conceptions of CCE that characterized the students who studied in these classrooms. The deliberate choice to concentrate on teachers engaged in the CCE process should be seen as a starting point for additional studies that will, in the future, expand this field of study to include important factors such as the conceptions of citizenship presented by the students.

Chapter Summary

In this introductory chapter, I have presented the main issue of this study, namely the conceptions of citizenship and civic education (CCE) that gear the educational practice with regards to high school civics lessons in the Israeli educational system. After detailing the main research questions, I offered a short summary of the topic of citizenship in Israel that stands at the heart of this exploration, connecting this study to larger social issues of equality and education. In the following Review of the Literature and Theoretical Framework chapter, I will continue with this framing of the study by presenting an in-depth examination of the scholarly literature regarding the issue of CCE as it appears in the contemporary academic discourse, as well as a more detailed presentation of the teaching of civics in the Israeli educational system.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The question of how to educate the young citizens of the state is as old as the term citizen itself, and can be traced back to the ancient eras (Heater, 2004a). In the last decades of the twentieth century and beginning of the third millennium, with the rise of the ongoing discourse regarding the meaning of the term citizenship (Heater, 2004b), the questions regarding the field of CCE have become central as well. Therefore, it is not surprising that the fundamental goal of the social studies to promote civic competence is also set in the realm of this discourse (Schneider & National Council for the Social Studies., 1994). In respect to this reality, the following review will concentrate on the meanings of the terms citizenship and civic education as expressed in the ongoing discourse of this field of study and practice.

As mentioned, the common denominator across studies dealing with the field of CCE is the interest in examining what types of citizens the state wants to cultivate, and how to implement that concept within an educational framework (Parker, 2008). Recent studies have mainly concentrated on the questions of how to instill in youth democratic knowledge, values and beliefs and how to stimulate youth civic engagement in schools (Hahn & Alviar-Martin, 2008).

An important distinction that helps clarify the very essence of the CCE process was offered by Lamm (2000), who presented two forms of CCE: (1) ideological education; and (2) political education. Lamm explains that whereas in the ideological education process the main goal is to persuade the students to adopt a specific partisan political ideology, political education is the process in which the student is taught the ability to take part in the political world while

developing his views independently. Therefore, Lamm stresses the importance of promoting the political education process as the main goal of CCE.

Whereas the importance of this CCE process is widely agreed upon, one may be overwhelmed by the abundance of topics and plurality of issues dealt with while reviewing the research in the field. In particular, one will find that varying philosophical conceptions of the very essence of this educational process are an intrinsic part of the discourse, displaying a plethora of different outtakes of this term. For example, while one approach may emphasize the knowledge each individual holds regarding the political sphere (Milner, 2002), a second approach may choose to emphasize the common values shared by the community as a whole (Bottery, 2000). Moreover, a third approach may claim that knowledge and values are not satisfactory factors, and thus good citizenship should be judged by the criteria of civic engagement (Nie, Junn, & Stehlik-Barry, 1996). These few examples emphasize the need for anyone engaged in this field to first detail the fundamental definitions and expose the underlying assumptions that influence this practice.

Assumptions

In the following, the definitions and underlying assumptions that lie at the base of this study will be brought forth. The definition of CCE offered by the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (Gibson & Levine, 2003), as quoted in the previous chapter, demonstrates the commonly accepted notion that CCE is in fact composed of three main factors:

(1) the transmission of knowledge; (2) the instilling of values; and (3) the development of dispositions.

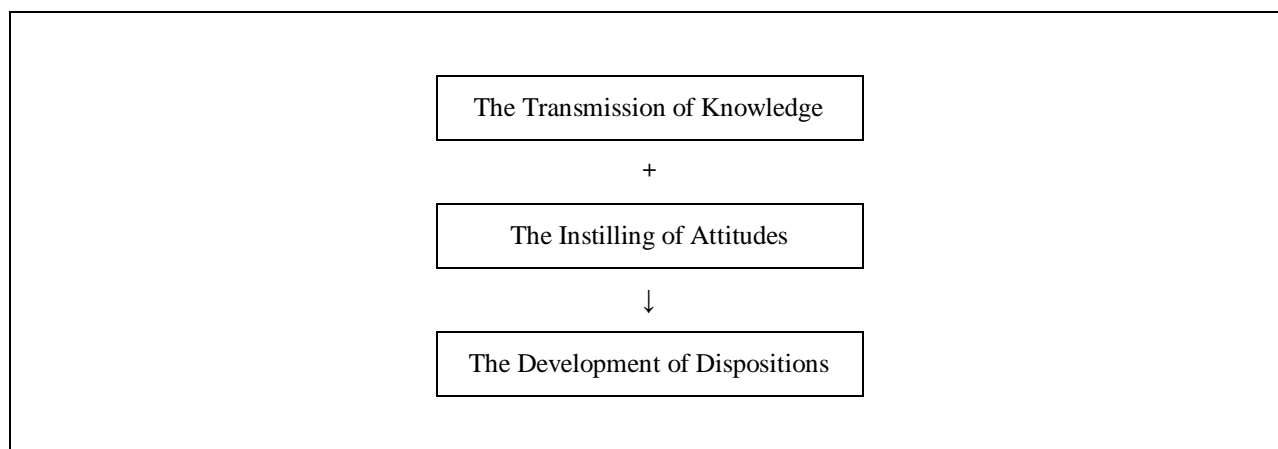
The prominence of these three components is not surprising, due to the fundamental notion of the interactions between the individual and society as the base of the social studies (Levstik & Tyson, 2008). For example, in his book “The Child and The Curriculum” Dewey (1906 / 1990) points out the two primary aspects of education: the psychological force and the social one. Emphasizing these two forces, Dewey acknowledges the fact that the educational process is an outcome of the connection between one’s self and the social environment. The first aspect concentrates on the individual’s opinions, characteristics and tendencies; whereas, the latter focuses on the social meanings of the individual’s behavior in society. Dewey explained that “the educative process is the due *interaction of these forces*. Such a conception of each *in relation to the other* as facilitates completest and freest interaction is the essence of educational theory” (p. 104, italics added). Therefore, the aim of the educational act may be defined as an aspiration to influence the *dispositions* of the individual while engaging in social behavior, based on the *knowledge* and the *values* that have been instilled throughout the educational process. This distinction between knowledge, values and dispositions was also expressed in Bloom’s (1954) famous taxonomy of educational objectives. His offered division into three domains – cognitive, affective and psychomotor, also represents this line of thought.

In the context of CCE, Butts (1980) wrote that citizenship education “embraces the fundamental *values of the political community*, a realistic and scholarly *knowledge of the working of political institutions and processes*, and the *skills of political behavior* required for effective participation in a democracy” (p. 122, as cited in Parker (2003), italics added). More

recently, Parker (2008) explained that the main educational goal of the CCE process may be referred to as “enlightened political engagement” (p. 67). With the use of this term Parker stresses the fact that the behavior, or engagement, of the citizen in society is based on her/him being enlightened by knowledge and social commitments, or in his words “political engagement refers to the *action or participation* dimension of democratic citizenship ... Democratic enlightenment refers to *knowledge and commitments* that inform this engagement” (pp. 68, italics added).

Therefore, based on these notions and with respect to the definition offered above, CCE may be seen as standing on three main pillars: (1) knowledge (2) values and (3) dispositions. The pillar of knowledge will concentrate on the information regarding the life in society such as the characteristics of type of regime, the branches of government and historical facts. The values pillar will stress the common attitudes and beliefs that are seen as essential in order to maintain society such as freedom, tolerance or the value of labor. The combination of these two pillars will eventually lead to the skills of the individual to behave in society, based on the knowledge of the norms of society and an acceptance of the values they represent.² It is important to point out that these pillars are not new to the field. In their historic report, Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) point to these pillars as the shared objectives of the three social studies approaches they offered. These basic assumptions regarding social studies education will sketch the outlines of the following theoretical framework in which the literature will be evaluated.

² See Figure 1: The educational process.

Figure 1 – The Educational Process

As stated, the focus of this study will be the different conceptions of CCE. This focus is based on the assumption brought forth by Westheimer and Kahne (2004), presented in the previous introductory chapter. As explained, this insight resonates with the notion of “aims talk” presented by Thornton (2005).

For example, Lee and Fouts (2005) display the importance of revealing such ideological conceptions in their cross-national research regarding teachers’ perceptions of CCE. The authors refer to numerous cross-national studies that have been held, most concentrating on policy and on decisions of policy makers. They, on the other hand, stress the importance of concentrating on the teachers’ perceptions of the term good citizenship and the ways in which these perceptions influence the practice of CCE.

Due to this connection between conceptions of citizenship and the educational practice, it is not surprising that these issues have been scrutinized by scholars from the field of political science as well. For example, at least two political science journals have dedicated full issues to the subject of CCE. The 2002 issue of “Parliamentary Affairs” displays a wide overview of this

topic, including a historical analysis of the field (Heater, 2002; Smith, 2002); a cross-national comparative (Marquette & Mineshima, 2002; Roberts, 2002); and studies regarding the actual outcomes of specific policies (Greenwood & Robins, 2002; Newton, 2002). The 2004 issue of “PS: Political Science and Politics” focused on the topic of the politics of CCE programs (Westheimer, 2004), dealing with issues such as the shift of such programs from promoting citizenship to producing workers for the labor market (Cuban, 2004); the belief structures that influence particular curriculum reforms (Ross, 2004); and the promises and possibilities of CCE to help promote political participation (Galston, 2004).

Whereas the majority of the discussions regarding the field of CCE interact with the discourse rooted in the field of political thought, mainly regarding the official relationships between the citizens and the state, an additional aspect that should not be overlooked is the social realm in which this educational process takes place, relating mainly to the ways in which the educational experiences interact with the social reality of the students. The roots of such notions, which emphasize the importance of understanding the social context and the place of education within this context, can be traced back to the writings of Dewey (1906 / 1990, 1916), who stressed the importance of understanding the connections between schools and their social settings. A more recent example can be found in the studies of Rubin (2007), who emphasizes the importance of recognizing the social contexts in which the CCE process takes place, while amplifying for instance the voices of underprivileged students. These examples all emphasize the importance of understanding the social and political contexts that influence the conceptions of CCE that gear the educational process, and thus their contribution to the understanding of this

specific case study. In the following, I will outline three key debates in this field of study that I found extremely relevant.

Key Debates

Several key scholarly debates currently dominate the field of CCE. These debates are rooted in larger discussions regarding the general field of citizenship in a democratic state. These three debates all have significant implications for the CCE process, specifically regarding the core element of this study – the ways in which different conceptions of CCE influence the educational practice. Presenting these debates will help in setting the theoretical framework in which the study will be bound. Note that each one of these debates touches mainly on one of the three pillars of the CCE process mentioned above: The first debate touches on the nature of the political knowledge to be transmitted; the second is based on the identification of the normative values to be instilled; and the third examines the expected behavior and dispositions to be promoted throughout this process.

Procedural Political Knowledge vs. Substantive Political Knowledge. The term “civic literacy” (Milner, 2002) relates to the process in which specific civic-related knowledge is passed on to the student. Such knowledge may be comprised of facts about the state, facts about the country's citizens and its political institutions. The main purpose of this process is to create a common base of knowledge to be shared by members of society (Ravitch, 1988). This knowledge is seen as essential in order to take part in the social sphere and participate in the political discourse that takes place in the state (Lamm, 2000). It is important to point out that

whereas this concept may be interpreted as indoctrination, the main concern is with passing on information regarding everyday life in society rather than a grand ideology. As Milner (2002) explains, this concept of CCE emphasizes "the knowledge and ability of citizens to make sense of their political world" (p. 1).

A good example of this concept is the demand that students know meanings of several key terms that are central in the political sphere. Crick (2000) offers a list of terms seen by him as the keystones of life in the British public sphere, including the terms: "Power, Force, Authority, Order, Law, Justice, Representation, Pressure, Natural Rights, Individuality, Freedom and Welfare" (p. 95). It is interesting to point out that this process does not include value-based assumptions but rather sees the role of CCE as setting the base in order to enable students to choose and develop their own personal decisions (Milner, 2002). In this manner, Crick does not reference the ongoing debate regarding the term "welfare" but rather sees it as a fragment of knowledge that should be taught rather than a term that is connected to specific values.

The debate regarding this issue of political knowledge may be set on a continuum based on the dichotomy between two types of knowledge regarding life in society – procedural knowledge and substantive knowledge (Bell & Staeheli, 2001; Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). The position that a teacher chooses in relation to this debate will of course have implications regarding the knowledge that is transmitted as part of the CCE process. The procedural end represents knowledge regarding the institutions, rules, and practices of governance (Dahl, 1998; Schumpeter, 1947), such as the understanding of the voting system or the methods with which minority voices are represented in government. Due to its nature, such knowledge will usually be taught while utilizing the pedagogy of dictation of such facts that are seen as essential. The

opposite end of the axis represents knowledge regarding what is seen as the substantive fundamental principles on which the state exist (Marshall, 1950; Tamir, 1993), such as the social-economic structure of society or information regarding the cultural foundations of the state. Therefore, a teacher who chooses this position will most likely teach while trying to engage the students in these issues with the use of multiple pedagogies such as an analysis of key historic documents.

Individualistic Normative Values vs. Communal Normative Values. This debate is based on the assumption that for the sake of the existence of society, citizens must possess certain values and attitudes. For example, White (1996) explains that in order for a democratic society to exist, its members must hold a democratic nature. As a result, she stresses the need for instilling the basic universal values that are perceived as essential to the existence of this democratic society. In this context, Avnon (2005) argues that the values that should stand at the center of this educational process are those values that express the complexity of the encounters between the different individuals in the social framework such as equality, freedom, and justice. Bottery (2000) explains that such values may relate to four different surroundings: (1) values that relate to the self; (2) values that relate to the encounter with the others; (3) values that relate to society as a whole; and (4) values that relate to the environment. He continues to explain that in order to instill these values one must examine the different levels in which they exist, such as asking what are the dominant values in society, what the values that guide the school system are and what values are present in lessons taught across the curriculum.

The continuum of this debate is based on the dichotomy between two perceptions of society – an individualistic perception and a communal one (Beiner, 2003; Habermas, 1994). On

the individualistic side of this debate one may find the classical liberal point of view that emphasizes the place of the individual in the social setting (Rawls, 1971) and thus promotes values such as productiveness or critical thinking. Buchanan (1989) draws on the work of Rawls, claiming that the state's role is to protect basic individual liberties such as freedoms of religion, expression and association. He adds that the state's role is not to impose any substantive views regarding the *good life*.

In response to such claims, Callan and White (2003) reflect the fear that such an approach will have an amoral effect on society due to the concentration on self-interest alone. Therefore, as Galston (2004) explains, due to the fact that sacrifices are a required part of citizenship in the modern nation state, there is a need to promote a feeling of identification between the individual citizen and the state. Such feelings take the form of patriotism and pride in one's country. In the same manner, MacIntyre (1981) sees the nation-state as a required element in order to create moral development, and therefore claims that citizens should feel committed to it. Therefore, the communal end of this continuum represents the point of view which stresses the communal meanings of citizenship in society and the affiliation of the individual to a larger social group, such as a community or the state (Sandel, 1984). Thus, values such as tolerance to different cultures or national solidarity will be endorsed.

As in the first debate described above, also in this case the different standpoints will result in different classroom pedagogies that should be considered. Whereas the promotion of individualistic values will result in a classroom practice that emphasizes the development and abilities of the individual student, the adoption of the communal values will lead to civics lessons that stress the importance of interactions between different students and group work.

This debate touches on two additional topics that are also related to this discussion of the individual versus communal normative civic values. The first is the topic of multiculturalism, specifically the idea presented by Banks (2001) that within the nation state there is a need to relate to various ethnic and national cultures and communities. Kymlicka (1998) adds to this notion the idea that there is a need for recognition toward the cultural groups within the state's institutions. Scholars such as Joshee (2004) and Marri (2005) point to policies of implementing multicultural education, guaranteeing language rights and political representation as ways to achieve this goal.

The second topic that relates to this debate is that of cosmopolitanism. This debate surrounds the argument presented for example, by Appadurai (1996), claiming that the nationalistic ideology is no longer relevant for our time. Due to this argument, scholars such as Nussbaum (2002) stress the need to strengthen the global alliances that are dedicated to all humanity and not to a specific nation state. Appiah (2007) calls such alliances “cosmopolitan engagement.” As an answer to such claims, scholars such as Hansen (2010) and Gaudelli (2003) offer an alternative point of view of cosmopolitanism, stressing the importance of the local settings and the values that they represent, in relation to these global issues.

Thin Civic Dispositions vs. Thick Civic Dispositions. The third scholarly debate regarding CCE that I found relevant for this study relates to the desired civic dispositions that the CCE process wishes to promote. As explained above, this disposition is directly influenced by political knowledge and normative values (Kerr, 1999).

One side of this continuum represents the thin disposition, also referred to as the minimal mode of citizenship. This mode is based on the philosophical stance of refusing any attempt to

impose on the public any conception of the common good. Therefore, based on this approach, the citizens of a state should not be required to be politically active beyond the act of selecting the people's representatives (Beiner, 2003). In fact, this mode of citizenship does not enforce any obligation on the private citizen to participate in public life (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994).

On the other side of the continuum, supporters of the thick or maximal mode of citizenship refute this claim, viewing citizenship as an “activity or a practice, and not simply a status” (Oldfield, 1990, p. 5). In direct opposition to the mode of thin citizenship, in this case the common good is seen as society's prominent goal. Therefore, participatory civil actions are seen as an inherent part of being a citizen in a democratic regime (Gutmann, 1999).

Supporters of the former position regarding civic participation will be satisfied with a CCE process that emphasizes the official venues of civic behavior, such as participating in the elections. On the other hand, supporters of the latter point of view see education as the main tool with which the state can motivate its citizens to be active beyond the official and institutionalized venues. A good example is the numerous studies by Hess (2002, 2008, 2009) regarding the pedagogies that promote conducting classroom discussions of controversial issues. Based on this view, political participation is seen as one of the highest modes of the human existence that the citizens should aspire to, and thus the importance of teaching multiple modes of such participation in the classrooms (Oldfield, 1990).

Understanding these three debates and the imaginary continuums on which they are set helps in framing the theoretical fields in which the process of CCE takes place. In this manner, clarifying the conflicting theories mentioned above may assist in identifying the philosophical foundations that influence practice in particular case studies. Thus these theories may be seen as

an analytical tool, as will be demonstrated in the following overview of different offered typologies related to these issues.

Typologies of Citizenship and Civic Education

An additional avenue of study that is apparent in the CCE discourse is the construction of theoretical typologies presenting different meanings to the term CCE. This need for clear typologies is a direct result of the embarrassment of riches that the field of CCE suffers from, as presented in the previous chapter. In most of these cases the offered typologies are rooted in the discourse about citizenship, and so they demonstrate once again how these two fields of study are intertwined.

A methodological explanation of the use of such typologies and ideal types will be presented in the following Methodology chapter. However, it is important to quickly refer to the contribution of the use of such a methodology. Such typologies, as will be presented in the following pages, assist in defining a social phenomenon based on the clear distinctions between the phenomenon's different appearances. For example, when creating the typology of democratic states juxtaposed to non-democratic ones, we can better evaluate the characteristics of a given case study as a result of a comparison of this specific case to these two ideal types. And thus, in this manner an established definition may be determined regarding the specific case – if it is indeed a democratic state or not. Thus, such typologies may be seen as an important analytic tool when attempting to determine the characteristics of the CCE process in a given case.

In the following section, I will survey both general typologies focused on the field of citizenship that have significant educational implications as well as typologies of CCE. In congruence with the main theme of this study, the examination of the manifestation of different conceptions of citizenship in the educational arena, we understand the importance of presenting such typologies as analytical tools to be utilized in the evaluation of the findings of this study, as will be presented in the Discussion and Implications chapter.

Citizenship. One of the first of such typologies was offered by the sociologist Marshall, (1950) who concentrated on the issue of rights. It is important to mention that although Marshall did not relate in his writings to the field of education, his typology has influence on the translation of such ideas derived from the social sciences into educational practice. Marshall claims that in different periods of modern history, emphasis was put on different types of rights. In the 18th century the emphasis was put on the idea of universal civil rights, influenced mainly by the liberal political thought that dominated this era. Following the industrial revolution, Marshall explains, the emphasis shifted to political rights that were closely connected to the idea of the nation-state that started to emerge at that time. In this period the term citizen started to relate to particular national rights, in addition to the universal civil rights of the previous era. The two world wars of the 20th century brought forth a third type of rights – that of social rights. Marshall explains that following the atrocities of the Second World War there was a need to define social rights to be respected by the states. Interestingly, Talshir (2005) offers to add to this typology a fourth type of right, that of cultural rights. She explains that this fourth right emerged from the discussions of the multiculturalism that dominates our present time.

In their famous work, Almond and Verba (1963) were the first to identify the components and characteristics of the participatory culture that identifies democracies. They offer a typology of three citizenship orientations: (1) parochial – a citizen that has no knowledge of the public sphere and no will to participate; (2) subject – a citizen that has knowledge of the institutions but shows no will to participate; and (3) participant – a citizen that has strong knowledge of the political institutions and has the will to influence the public sphere.

As mentioned, the typologies offered by Marshall and by Almond and Verba do not relate directly to the field of education. Nevertheless, the different citizenships each one of these typologies brings forth have educational implications, which ought to be considered. In this manner, the civil, political and social rights as well as the parochial, subject and participant modes of citizenship may potentially lead to different forms of CCE, and thus are important.

As a result of the review of these typologies, I coined an additional typology of citizenship that will have a key role in the analysis to be presented in this study. This typology relates to a citizen's personal relationship to the state in which s/he lives. This typology offers a distinction between two options: (1) abandonment; and (2) activity. A citizen choosing the *abandonment* option is seen as apolitical, private, and passive and in fact has abandoned the idea that s/he can influence the official political institutions. On the other hand, the *activity* option represents a political, public and active citizen that fully acknowledges the ability to influence her/his social and political surroundings. In regard to this study, this theoretical typology will assist in understanding the ways in which civics teachers position their students in relation to these options, thus framing their lessons in congruence to a singular conception of citizenship while not acknowledging the potential multiplicity of this field.

In relation to this typology it is important to mention that its use throughout this study will relate to the activity of a citizen as it manifests in the institutionalized venues that were characterized as part of the civics lessons. The use of this typology will not include other, less traditional modes of civic activity due to the limited scope of this research. In other words, while acknowledging the limitations of this study that examined this issue as presented in the official civics lessons alone, future studies may reveal the complexity of such civic actions that occur outside of the classroom, such as in the students' own community.

Due to this limitation the main focus of this study is on the ways in which the teachers perceive their students' civic orientation as it is manifest in the classroom alone. There is no intention to make general claims regarding the students' civic orientations and activities that take place outside of this framework. Nevertheless, understanding the ways in which the civics teachers perceive their own students, and based on this perception frame their civics lessons, will assist in understanding a central aspect of this complex reality.

Citizenship and Civic Education. As demonstrated above, McLaughlin (1992) draws attention to the “ambiguities and tensions inherent in the concept of ‘citizenship’ which are therefore involved in any attempt to educate for citizenship” (p. 236). In order to better understand these ambiguities and tensions, he offers a continuum of interpretations divided between minimum and maximum conceptions of citizenship. Based on the minimalistic view, citizenship is reduced to passive respect of law or in other words citizenship that “is seen merely in formal, legal, juridical terms” (p. 237). Supporters of the maximalist view sees citizenship as connected to active participation by the citizens that is “conceived in social, cultural and psychological terms” (p. 237).

McLaughlin (1992) further explains that the minimal conception's main priority is the provision of information and thus its emphasis is mainly on the procedural aspect of citizenship. He points out that as a result, this conception does not include any critical reflection or understanding. He explains that the main critique of this conception of citizenship and its influence on CCE is that it promotes an "unreflective socialization into the political and social status quo" (p. 239). In opposition to this conception, the maximal conception of citizenship will require a "considerable degree of explicit understanding of democratic principles, values and procedures on the part of the citizen, together with the dispositions and capacities required for participation in democratic citizenship" (p. 238). I found as a result of this study that these typological distinctions between minimum and maximum modes of CCE are relevant when trying to understand and interpret the different educational experiences that are enacted in various settings.

In addition to McLaughlin's theoretical debate, three important studies offer typologies of CCE based on the findings of empirical research. Sears and Hughs (1996) presented ideal types of CCE based on a study of the existing conceptions of CCE in Canada. The framework for these ideal types was the political conceptions of the term citizenship. In order to compose the different ideal types that represented these different conceptions, they evaluated numerous official documents regarding CCE from throughout the country, representing all of Canada's provinces. Based on the evaluation of these documents, the researchers derived the existing conceptions of CCE and presented them as ideal types. These types include: (1) a state-based conception, which concentrates on issues of national importance, such as the state's institutions and its common values and norms; (2) a liberal conception, which emphasizes the personal skills

such as the ability to scrutinize public issues and the articulation of personal value positions; (3) the cosmopolitan conception that stresses the need to understand world issues such as the topic of environmental responsibility; and (4) a social justice conception that is centered on the issues of equality, oppression and discrimination.

In the same manner, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) surveyed the different undercurrent beliefs of *good citizenship* as appeared in educational programs aimed at promoting democracy in the U.S.A. In their research, they pinpointed three concepts of *good citizenship* that may be seen as the base for the ideal types of CCE: (1) the personal responsibility conception, which sees its goal as developing each citizen's own individualistic character; (2) the participation conception that promotes citizenship that is of an active leadership role; and (3) the justice-driven conception that calls for citizens to critically assess the structures of injustice in society. The authors illuminate the limitations of the personal responsible citizen, thus promoting either the participatory or the justice-oriented models of CCE.

These two sets of typologies are similar in the sense that they illuminate the conceptions of CCE as they are defined based mainly on the initial stage of the educational process in regard to the normative expectations and goals. The descriptive typology that was composed as a result of this study, to be presented and further developed in the following Research Data, Findings and Analysis chapter, differs in the sense that it is based on the interactions between such initial intentions and the social realities as they manifest in the classrooms, thus expanding our understanding of the ways such typologies are influenced by the social and political realities.

In a more recent study, Rubin (2007) offers a typology of civic identities based on interviews and discussions conducted with students. She arranges these identities of citizenship

based on the range of the students' approaches regarding their civic experiences in relation to the ideals taught in school, and based on their attitudes toward civic participation. She offers four types of civic identity: aware, empowered, complacent, and discouraged. In relation to these identities, Rubin points to the fact that factors such as race, socio-economic status and community of origin all had influence on the development of the students' civic identity. These conclusions correspond with my own assumptions detailed in the previous introductory chapter regarding the influence of such factors on the CCE process.

It is important to mention that the purpose of this short review of different typologies was to present the option of using such a methodology regarding this topic. As will be presented in the following Methodology chapter, throughout the fieldwork stage of this study, I made a point of not choosing one set typology over the other. Based on the principles of grounded theory, I aspired to emerge myself in the field without limiting my research experience to a certain given pattern to be followed blindly. Nevertheless, as will be presented in the Discussion and Implications chapter, knowledge of such typologies and of the methodological principles that they represent helped in the analysis of the findings and offered some explanations of the phenomena that were observed, specifically the main focus of this study – the conceptions of CCE. As mentioned in the previous introductory chapter, the second main focus of this study is the fact that it took place in a non-U.S.A. setting.

Citizenship and Civic Education – An International Perspective

A prominent question in the field of comparative international education is whether or not the main factors that influence the education process are unanimous across the globe, or whether they differ based on the particular national setting (Anderson-Levitt, 2003; Francisco & Meyer, 2002). Different studies that dealt with the topic of CCE in cross-national settings presented several answers to this general question. These include: the teachers' perceptions of citizenship (Lee & Fouts, 2005), the pedagogical legacy that is rooted in the local culture (Hahn, 1998), the quality of teachers and pedagogical methods (Finkel & Ernst, 2005) and the extent of diversity in the local setting (Ichilov, Salomon, & Inbar, 2005).

These different factors may be grouped and categorized into two main themes: (1) the teacher and the classroom and (2) the nation and the society. The first theme includes the teachers' perceptions, the teachers' training and the utilization of pedagogical methods. These are all professional factors that relate to the function of the teacher in the classroom, relating to the well-known notion of the teacher as a curricular-instructional gatekeeper (Thornton, 1991). On the other hand, the second theme includes the local culture, the pedagogical legacy and the diversity in the country, taking a wider point of view that relates to the context of the community, society and the state.

This distinction is important in regard to this study, due to the ability of coming to conclusions relating to these factors on a global level (Noacutvoa & Yariv-Mashal, 2003). It seems that the factors of the first theme may be transferred and implemented in various national settings. Simply put, if a nation wishes to enhance the CCE process it can change the teacher program, implement new pedagogical methods in its schools and invest in the quality of teachers.

On the other hand, the second theme is a lot more particular and thus, less applicable across national boundaries.

As will be further developed in the Discussion and Implications chapter, this study may be seen as an attempt to bridge these two themes, relating to the practical aspects of teaching civics in Israel while showing the connection to the larger cultural and national elements that characterize this setting, mainly the fragility of the Israeli democracy. In this manner I wish to set this study not only as an additional international case study, but rather help develop a global conversation on these issues, specifically in relation to other democratic states that still exist in such a fragile reality.

The Civic Education Gap

Moving beyond these fundamental components of the CCE process, an important and relevant aspect of this field of study that must be considered is the existence of what Levinson (2007) identified and described as a civic achievement gap. In her studies, Levinson found that a clear gap exists regarding the enactment of the CCE process in different educational settings. She explains that in the U.S.A. the main discrepancy exists between the “non-white, poor, and/or immigrant youth, on the one hand, and white, wealthier, and/ or native-born youth, on the other” (p. 4). She demonstrates how this gap is present regarding all components of the CCE process, including the knowledge and skills being transmitted, the behavioral and participation aspect being promoted and the students’ general civic attitudes.

Following this initial research, in a recent publication Levinson (2012) offers a wider perspective, explaining why this gap is an important topic that must be considered in relation to the social context of the CCE process. She relates to the fundamental assumption that stands at the base of any democratic regime – the demand to treat all citizens as equal individuals. Nevertheless, the findings of her studies reveal a reality in which a true discrepancy exists between different social groups, specifically in relation to the following components of the CCE process: (1) the development of a deep sense of cynicism and mistrust of the government by minority youth; (2) a lack of knowledge of these groups regarding how a citizen can influence government; and (3) records of low participation by members of these groups. Based on this assumption and these findings, Levinson stresses the importance of offering all sections of society a meaningful civic education experience, specifically emphasizing the need to engage members of minority groups and less privileged citizens. Therefore, as a remedy to this gap, she makes the case for an active civics education program that will empower all students.

As part of his ongoing explorations of the topic of democratic CCE, Parker (2003) also relates to the issue of access to such educational processes. He defines access to CCE as the “admittance to a reasonable high-quality education for democratic living in a diverse society” (p. 150) and explains how such access relates to all social groups in a society. He cites Adair who stated that:

Education is important to all citizens; it is absolutely essential to those who must go on to face continued obstacles of racism, classism, and sexism, to those who have been distanced and disenfranchised from the U.S. mainstream culture, and to those who have

suffered lifetimes of oppression and marginalization” (Adair, 2001, p. 219 as cited by Parker 2003).

Parker explains that such an educational process should “aim for both sides of the citizenship coin: democratic enlightenment and democratic engagement” (p. 159) and that there is a need for “access to well-led forums in which candid talk and serious listening across differences are encouraged” (p. 160).

Kahne and Middaugh (2008) also researched this topic, explaining its importance due to the reality in which “the very individuals who have the least influence on political processes ... often get fewer, school-based opportunities to develop their civic capacities and commitments than other students” (p. 9). They connect this argument to the general insight regarding the field of inequality and education as presented for example by Oakes’ (2005) seminal work that illuminated the ways in which the students’ socio-economic status influenced their achievement levels and expectations as well as access to learning opportunities, such as critical thinking skills, the variety of teaching strategies, and educational resources.

The importance of Kahne and Middaugh’s (2008) study regarding the field of CCE is their troubling conclusion that it is mainly the privileged students that are exposed to civic engagement opportunities that promote active civic participation. They explain that in this reality:

Schools, rather than helping to equalize the capacity and commitments needed for democratic participation, appear to be exacerbating this inequality by providing more

preparation for those who are already likely to attain a disproportionate amount of civic and political voice (p. 18).

This phenomenon is of course not bound to the U.S.A. alone. Ho, Alviar-Martin, Sim and San Yap (2011) documented the reality in Singapore, in which the state “has developed separate citizenship education programs incorporating different values, skills, and knowledge for students from the academic and vocational tracks” (p. 204). Similar to Kahne and Middaugh, they too come to the troubling conclusion that “students from the vocational tracks are not provided with an education that prepares them to participate fully in a democratic society” (p. 226).

Although several studies have dealt with the issue of inequality in the Israeli educational system (Ayalon & Gamoran, 2000; Konor Attias & Garmash, 2012; Mizrachi, Goodman, & Feniger, 2009) only one single study has concentrated on the issue of the disparities regarding CCE (Ichilov, 2002). This study compared the CCE process between academic and vocational tracks and came to a similar conclusion that:

While students in the academic programs are expected to develop a broad and interdisciplinary view of the welfare state and social issues, and learn to approach current issues through a multifaceted perspective, students in vocational programs receive mainly practical knowledge concerning work and welfare services, as well as basic knowledge and concepts that they should accept uncritically (p. 93).

Whereas all the studies mentioned above relate mainly to the gap of the educational experiences that the students from the different layers of society are exposed to, I argue that the fundamental mode of citizenship that is being promoted varies between the different settings. In other words, I will show that this CCE gap relates not only to the exposure to learning opportunities, as is already demonstrated in the discourse, but that there is a gap regarding the philosophical understandings and meanings attributed to the term citizen as promoted by the different teachers. Therefore, as will be further presented in the Discussion and Implications chapter, the concentration on the conceptions of CCE that gear the educational practice will illuminate an additional aspect regarding this topic that has been overlooked in the literature; Mainly, the ways in which contextual factors influence and frame such educational conceptions and goals, resulting in a reality of such a civic achievement gap. Furthermore, whereas a majority of these studies relate to the gap between different educational tracks (e.g. academic vs. vocational) I will present the existence of such a gap in the same academic track. In this manner, I will further illuminate this issue in an even more troubling light, demonstrating the existence of such a gap within educational frameworks that at first sight seem similar.

Education in Israel

After presenting the theoretical components and main scholarly debates regarding the general topic of CCE, and before I describe the methodological considerations that guided me in this particular study, it is important to dedicate some thought to the historic development of the Israeli educational system and to the teaching of civics within this institutional framework.

Despite the fact that this section will be presented as a survey of the relevant topics, I will point to the theoretical ramifications of these issues as they interact with the transnational ongoing debate regarding CCE as presented above.

Historical Development. The arrival of the first major migration of Jews from Europe to Palestine (known as the first *Aliya*) in the 1880's was driven by a strong ideological component that was manifest into the new educational institutions that were founded at the time (Elboim-Dror, 1986). For example, in a study conducted at the time of the development of the education system in Israel in the pre-state era (Azarayhu, 1953), it was argued that the main goal of education was to erase the boundaries between general humanistic topics and particular Jewish issues, a boundary that existed in the Jewish educational systems of Europe. This enabled the development of a national ideology that combined both the universal-humanistic values as well as the Jewish point of view.

Israel's Ministry of Education was founded in March 1948, while the War of Independence between the Jewish and Arab populations was still continuing fiercely. At this time the education system was still under the influence of the British mandate that ruled this area since 1917. Thus, the majority of the Jewish schools were affiliated with political parties and belonged to one of three educational tracks that functioned parallel to one another: (1) the general track, affiliated with the centralist General Zionists party; (2) the leftist labor track, affiliated with the *Histadrut*-General Federation of Labor; and (3) the religious *Mizrachi* track, affiliated with the religious Zionist parties. Each track held a different educational goal and was autonomous in developing curriculum and hiring teachers (Zameret, 1997).

One of the first laws that passed in the Knesset, the newly established Israeli parliament, was the Free Compulsory Education Law ("Israel Free Compulsory Education Law," 1949) that stated that free education will be supplied to all children between ages five to thirteen. This law recognized the three educational tracks and even defined a fourth one, that of the ultra-orthodox Jews. In addition, the law recognized the Arab education system, promising state funding for all. Throughout this founding period, the political parties saw their educational systems as a way to attract the young citizens to their ideological camp and thus gain their political support. This situation led to political protests and social turmoil that in 1950 gave birth to a governmental commission of inquiry. The publication of the commission's recommendations led to the resignation of Israel's first minister of education and, eventually in 1951, to the dissolution of the first government (Zameret, 1997).

This reality led to the understanding of the need for a state education law. Therefore, one of the main goals of Israel's second government was the construction and passing of such a law, which was finally drafted in 1953 with the leadership of the new minister of education, Professor Ben-Zion Dinur. This law ("Israel State Education Law," 1953) sketched the structure of the Israeli educational system in a manner that continues to exist until today. The law determined that: (1) education in the state of Israel will be supplied by the state itself; (2) the educational processes will be framed based on nationwide curriculum standards to be issued by the minister of education; (3) all schools will be obligated to a minimum core curriculum; and (4) parents will have the right to add items to the curriculum, based on their beliefs and understandings, as long as these extensions do not harm the teaching of the minimum core curriculum (Yonai, 2008). The main reform that this law presented was the division of the state educational system into three

tracks: (1) the state track that includes Jewish secular schools as well as the subdivision of the Arab schools (Christian, Druze and Islamic) in which the language of instruction is Arabic; (2) the state religious track that includes the religious Zionist schools; and (3) the ultra-orthodox track that remains an autonomous system until this day (Zameret, 1997).

The 1950's – 1960's presented ongoing challenges for the educational system that was in charge of assimilating large numbers of Jewish immigrants that arrived to Israel, mainly from the post Holocaust European countries such as the U.S.S.R., Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Germany, as well as North African and Middle Eastern countries such as Yemen, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Turkey, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia. Despite the religious unity of these immigrants, there was a deep ideological rift, specifically regarding the way to view the new state of Israel. Whereas some saw the establishment of Israel as the starting point for a new religious messianic period, others viewed the state as a center for the secular Jewish culture (Eisenstadt, 1967). It is important to note that a majority of these countries of origin were not democratic and thus, these immigrants were not exposed to a strong democratic culture. In addition, as mentioned, this educational system was also placed in the challenging position of managing the schools of the Arab minority.

Continuing complaints were voiced regarding the differentiated treatment given to the Ashkenazi European Jews in contrast to the Sephardic Middle Eastern and North African Jews resulting in significant disparities in access to opportunities and resources. For example, research from 1956 showed that despite the fact that the Sephardic Jews composed 52 percent of the students between ages 13 – 14, they constituted only 32 percent of the students that passed the

high school admissions exams. Reports from the time show that only 5 percent of the Hebrew University students belonged to these cultural groups (Dror, 1999; Zameret, 1998).

In 1968, the Israeli parliament decided to adopt the findings of a Knesset subcommittee dedicated to raising the achievement levels of the Israeli students, while dealing with such gaps. This decision led to the reformation of the education system, introducing comprehensive junior high schools and thus instituting social integration, and the establishment of a curriculum division in the Ministry of Education that was in charge of rewriting the national standards and subject matters curricula (Dror, 1999; Yariv-Mashal, 2004).

These reforms of the 1970's were seen as a remedy to the growing discrepancies between students from different social and cultural backgrounds. Ideologically, these reforms refuted the earlier philosophy that stressed the importance of equality over all educational tracks, with regards to both the curriculum to be taught as well as the teacher preparation programs. With these new reforms, the educational system expressed its understanding of the importance in recognizing the differences between the various cultures (Ackerman, Karmon, & Tzucker, 1985; Yonai, 2008).

The general elections of 1977, in which the neo-liberal right-wing *Likud* party won, brought an end the hegemony of the left-wing labor *Mapai* party that ruled the state since its founding in 1948. These dramatic results, which influenced different social and political aspects of life in Israel, changed many aspects of education in Israel as well. The main ideological change was the adoption of the free market management culture to the educational system. Since the 1980's and continuing to today, several organizational reforms reflect this ideology: massive budget cuts that brought a decrease in actual teaching hours and special programs; a shift from

emphasizing educational goals related to issues of social inclusion to goals aimed at improving each students' own personal development and learning achievements; a change in those students defined as students with special needs from students from certain cultural backgrounds to students with lower achievement scores; an increase in the ability of parents and others to invest private funds in schools and in special programs and the privatization of several aspects such as the outsourcing of curriculum development and professional training (Ackerman et al., 1985; Barandes, 1996; Yonai, 2008).

These trends peaked in 2003 when the Minister of Education, Limor Livnat, appointed the "National Task Force for Advancing Education in Israel" also known as the Dovrat committee, named for the committee head, the notorious Israeli high-tech entrepreneur Shlomo Dovrat. The committee's recommendations ("The Report of the Task Force for the Advancement of Education (The Dvorat Report)," 2003) reflected this neo-liberal philosophy, stating that the educational system's main goal should be the advancement of every individual student. For this purpose, they recommended to implement a mandatory core curriculum to be studied by all students, frame the education practice based on clearly defined goals and a structured evaluation process and offered full independence to school principals regarding the school's pedagogy, management and budget. One of the main criticisms aimed toward this committee was the fact that not even one practicing teacher took part in its discussions. Interestingly, some scholars have pointed to the similarities between the Dovrat report and the U.S.A. "No Child Left Behind Act," and see the later as the moral justification for such a reform (Yariv-Mashal, 2006). Despite, and maybe because of these large-scale ambitions, the Dovrat committee's recommendations were eventually shelved (Yonai, 2008). These tendencies are closely connected to the popular demand

to see a raise in the percentage of students that receive the high school secondary education matriculation certificate, known in Hebrew as the *Bagrut*. Next, I will present a short overview explanation about the Bagrut exam, in an attempt to analyze its status of prominence in the Israeli educational system.

The Bagrut Matriculation Certification System. Due to Israel's centralized educational system, the grades on the required subjects for the Bagrut are essential for situations such as Jewish student placement in the mandatory military service and acceptance to an institute of higher education. The importance of these tests on the students' lives is also presented by the fact that Bagrut holders earn 25 percent higher wages in their adult lives (Angrist & Lavy, 2002).

The following overview of the historical development of the Bagrut exam can help explain the central role that this exam has as one of the main factors that influences the Israeli educational system. The British mandate of Palestine that ruled between 1917 – 1948 issued regulations regarding such matriculation exams. The British enabled the Jewish community, which was organized under what was known as the Jewish National Council, to conduct an independent matriculation process that was composed of exams in four areas of study: Hebrew, English, Bible Studies and Math. Success in these exams led to the award of the matriculation certification that was defined as the primary condition to be admitted to the newly founded institutes of higher education of the time - The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and The Technion Institute of Technology in Haifa (Syrquin, 1998).

With the establishment of the state of Israel the new Ministry of Education redefined the mandatory subject matters, but the overall scheme of the certification process remained the same. In this manner the British imperialistic policy of creating a clear separation between the

government-led certification process and the education process that goes on in the schools was in fact reinforced. Only in the 1970's did the Ministry of Education initiate a reform to this process, with the results partially in place until today. Based on this reform, the various subject matters were divided into units of study, known in Hebrew as *yechidot*, each to be taught in one weekly hour over three years of high school (10th – 12th grade). The idea was to enable the students to choose for themselves the amount of units they will learn in the different subject matters. Due to this option of choice that was given to the students, a strict framework of rules and regulations was also defined. In order to receive the matriculation certification at the time, the Israeli student was required to gain a minimum of 20 units of study. Out of these 20 units, 12 were defined as mandatory subjects that included: Bible Studies, Hebrew, History, English, Math and Civics. It was up to the student to decide which subjects to study toward the remaining eight units and thus these additional subject matters were offered as electives. Additional conditions included the requirement that at least two subject matters be studied at the advanced level of four or five units and that the student receive a passing grade of at least 50 in all of the unit exams (Ben Peretz, 1999).

With the implementation of this new certification process, the Israeli institutes of higher education began to raise their own demands based on this system. For example, they required students to study English at the level of four units as an admissions requirement. In addition, they offered bonus points to specific subject matters, thus encouraging students to expand their studies at high school way beyond the minimum requirement of 20 units. In addition, specialized schools and tracks required that their students expand relevant subject matters, such as the requirement of the students studying in the state religious track to expand their Bible studies to

five units of study. As a result, students studying for more than 30 units were not considered rare (Ben Peretz, 1999).

This reality led to an additional reform in the 1980's that reduced the amount of elective units of study while redefining the amount of the mandatory units to 17. This reform explains the situation that exists until today in which the preparation toward the Bagrut exams frames a large proportion of the educational processes that goes on in the schools. In an attempt to mitigate the Bagrut's influence, it was also decided that the final matriculation grade will be composed evenly between both the grade on the Bagrut exam and an internal school grade given by the teachers and based on the students' performance in class (Ben Peretz, 1999).

The structure of the Bagrut system attracted criticism over the years. In 1993 the minister of education, Shulamit Aloni, appointed a committee to reevaluate this reality, headed by Miriam Ben Peretz, a professor of education from Haifa University. This committee found that "from the pedagogical point of view the Bagrut system does not enable meaningful learning and creates unproportional pressure on both students and their teachers" (Ben Peretz, 1999, p. 479). The committee recommended increasing the influence of the internal school-based evaluation, which as they stated, should include alternative modes such as projects and portfolios, while decreasing the influence of the external Bagrut exams. The committee also related to larger societal implications, for example, the disturbing fact that more than 50 percent of each age group were not successful in passing all of the Bagrut exams and thus did not hold the matriculation certification. The committee warned of this situation in which such a large group does not have access to higher education or certain job opportunities and in this manner connected their findings to the larger social rifts that characterize the Israeli society (Ben Peretz, 1999).

Although some of the committee's recommendations began an experimental period, eventually they were not adopted due to the fragile political atmosphere. Other attempts were made in order to mitigate the influences of the Bagrut exams, such as a highly criticized plan that lasted for three years, in which the Bagrut exams in certain subject matters were canceled based on a raffle (Ben Peretz, 1999). Thus, the Bagrut matriculation certification system continues to cast its shadow over the Israeli educational system, influencing the school atmosphere and the enactment of the different subject matters.

In order to continue to better understand the development of the Israeli educational system and its social implications today, I will now supply some contemporary data regarding these issues.

Education in Israel Today. Today, more than a million students study in the Israeli pre-K – 12 educational system. This increase in the number of students is dramatic when considering the fact that in the 1948 – 1949 school year there were only 130,000 students, an increase of 87 percent over a period of 64 years. Today, 95 percent of the Israeli children at elementary and junior high school ages attend school and about two-thirds of them continue to study in high schools. In 2007, the Knesset expanded the Free Compulsory Education Law to include the 12th grade in order to deal with this dropout rate. The percentage of students ages 15 – 17 that attend school in Israel is 3 percent higher than the average of the OECD countries. Data from the year 2000 shows that only 4 percent of youth aged 14 – 17 do not attend school (Yonai, 2008).

Based on data obtained from the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics regarding the year 2011 ("Schools, classes and students in secondary education," 2012), the current Israeli educational system is portrayed as follows: there are 1,749 high schools in Israel, 1,394 of them

are Jewish and 355 of them Arab schools. In total, there were 630,626 high school students that were part of the system in this school year. The division of the Jewish students into the three tracks broke down to: 60.5 percent studying in the state track; 16.7 percent in the state religious track and 22.8 percent in the autonomous ultra-orthodox track.

One issue that has been part of discussions regarding education in Israel ever since the founding of the state, and that has yet to be settled, is the status of the teaching profession. This issue touches on the social status of the teachers, their salary and working conditions and their role in the schools and in society (Yonai, 2008). Several committees dealt with this issue over the years, and a relatively new agreement signed with the teachers' unions in 2008 has yet to be fully evaluated. Based on the most recent data, around 125,000 teachers work in the educational system. In the year 2005 only 20 percent of them were male, reflecting the phenomenon of the feminization of the teacher profession in Israel. Another phenomenon is the aging of the teachers' work force: Around 5 percent of the high school teachers are above the age of 50 and the average number of years of experience is 20. A more positive phenomenon is the academization of the teachers: above 80 percent of the high school teachers have an academic background (Yonai, 2008).

The Teaching of Civics in Israel

The Israeli educational system as presented above makes for an interesting case study regarding the topic of CCE for several reasons. Foremost, throughout the 64 years of its existence as a state, Israel has seen shifts and changes in the dominant conceptions of CCE: whereas the first

decades of the state's existence were dominated by a patriotic notion that emphasized the national identity, since the 1970's a more individualistic approach concerned with the students' personal development was adopted (Cohen, 2008; Ichilov, *et. al.*, 2005; Yariv-Mashal, 2004).

Furthermore, as a society Israel is characterized by several social and political rifts and divisions, such as that between the Jewish majority and the non-Jewish ethnic minority as well as between the different religious and secular groups that compose the Jewish society (Arian, Philippov, & Knafelman, 2009). In relation to this social reality, the fact that the Israeli educational system is managed in a nation-wide unified manner may have implications for other systems of this same nature.

In addition, the geopolitical context in which the state of Israel exists has influence on the teaching of civics in the state. In a study based on personal experiences while teaching in Israel in the time of the second Palestinian Intifada, Ben Porath (2009) points to the fact that in times of conflict the conceptions of citizenship that are promoted in the classrooms are reduced to a narrow perspective due to the conflictual reality. In such cases, she explains, the public discourse tends to be dominated by an "us vs. them" terminology. Ben Porath explains that such a terminology is an exact opposite of the democratic discourse that is inclusive and pluralistic in its nature. Therefore, she sees such a discourse in a time of conflict as an authentic danger to democracy.

While considering these insights, I will present an overview of the topic of the teaching of civics in the Israeli context. I will first review the history of this field. Afterwards, I will offer a detailed explanation of the current civics curriculum and the nationwide Bagrut exam due to its

high influence on the teaching of civics as documented throughout this study. I will conclude with a survey of the academic literature connected to this field of study.

Historical Development. The current national civics curriculum standards (Israeli Ministry of Education, 1994) were approved in 1994 by the Ministry of Education, when it was decided that they will be studied by all students in the Israeli educational system. As stated in the introduction to these curriculum standards, the ministry came up with a new concept of teaching civics due to the “changes that have occurred in society and in the state” (p. 6). This new curriculum replaced the previous standards that were written in the 1970’s, and thus reflect a new approach to the teaching of civics in the Israeli educational system.

Until the 1970’s the Israeli educational system adopted a wide approach to CCE, claiming that the civics-related topics and issues should be taught across the curriculum, utilizing numerous subject matters such as history and geography, as well as extra-curricular activities such as memorial ceremonies and field trips. Therefore, civics did not exist as an independent subject matter. This notion of teaching civics in an overarching manner was documented in the Israeli state education law that was approved by the Knesset in 1953 ("Israel State Education Law," 1953). The law opens with the following statement regarding the general goals of the official educational system of the newly born state:

The goals of the state education are: (1) to educate people to love other human beings, love their nation and love their country, to be loyal Israeli citizens, who respect their parents and family, their heritage, their identity and their language; (2) to instill the principles that were mentioned in the Declaration of the State of Israel and the values of the state of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state; to develop respect toward human

rights, the basic freedoms, democratic principles, rule of law, to the culture and views of others and to educate toward peace and tolerance between people and between nations.

Note that these goals refer to all of the subject matters taught in the Israeli educational system, and not only to the civics or social studies related subjects.

Following the large-scale reformation of the Israeli school system in the beginning of the 1970's (Yariv-Mashal, 2004), civics was first presented as an independent subject matter in 1976 (Israeli Ministry of Education, 1994). The first civics curriculum standards mainly touched on the issue of transmitting bodies of knowledge to the students regarding the procedural aspects of Israel's political institutions. This formal approach to the teaching of civics remained dominant until the 1990's.

The 1980's – 1990's were a time of great political and social fragility in Israel (Sprinzak, 1999). Numerous disturbing examples demonstrate the dangers that were threatening Israeli democracy at these times: mass demonstrations against the first Lebanon war of 1982; the assassination of the peace activist Emil Grunzweig in 1984; the election of a far-right racist *Kach* political party to the Israeli parliament in 1984; the tensions surrounding the signing of the Oslo peace agreements in 1993 that eventually led to the assassination of the Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995.

It was in this national atmosphere that in 1989 the minister of education, Yitzhak Navon, appointed a committee whose goal was to reevaluate the civics curriculum based on the judicial, social and political challenges that the country was facing at the time. This committee, headed by

a professor of political science from the Hebrew University, identified three main flaws in the existing civics curriculum (Israeli Ministry of Education, 1994): (1) the curriculum was outdated and did not fit the events of the time; (2) the curriculum touched only on the procedural aspects of the teaching of civics, without acknowledging any substantive issues whatsoever; (3) the fact that there was not one, but rather several different curricula that were aimed at the different cultural groups in the Israeli society. Based on these flaws, the committee concluded that a new civics curriculum should be developed.

Between 1990 – 1994 the committee created a new civics curriculum that was approved by the Ministry of Education in 1994 (Israeli Ministry of Education, 1994). As the writers of this new curriculum noted, it differed from the previous curriculum in two main aspects: first, this new curriculum was unified and aimed toward all of the students from all of the tracks of the Israeli educational system; second, the emphasis shifted from the memorization of facts about the Israeli political institutions to the understanding of democratic values and development of normative civic behavior. The writers mentioned three main considerations that guided them while constructing this new curriculum: (1) the need to present Israeli society as dynamic and pluralistic; (2) the will to include a comparison of Israeli democracy to other democracies across the globe while identifying similar communalities; and (3) the necessity to expand the list of recommended teaching strategies while emphasizing the importance of discussing current events as part of civics lessons.

The social and political tensions that characterized Israeli society continued into the 1990's. Therefore, in 1995, an additional committee was appointed by the Ministry of Education. This committee was headed by a Law professor from the Hebrew University and its main goal

was to “develop a general plan to instill citizenship in the educational system as a common basis of values and behaviors aimed at all citizens of the state” (Kremnitzer, 1995). The final report of this committee was unique in the sense that the plan for CCE was presented in a wide inclusive lens. For example, in its conclusions the committee touched on widespread educational issues such as the school culture and atmosphere. In fact, this report barely touched on the curriculum of the civics subject matters but rather stressed the importance of forging connections between the civics curriculum and other school issues.

Between 1994 – 1999, the new civics curriculum underwent an experimental period in a limited number of schools nationwide. After evaluating the results of this experiment, and refining the curriculum based on its findings, in 2001 the new curriculum was approved as the official civics curriculum of the state of Israel to be used by all of the schools in the state (Israeli Ministry of Education, 1994).

An important factor to be considered regarding the implementation of this new curriculum was the fact that the allotted hours dedicated to the civics lessons remained the same as in the years of the old curriculum, despite the expansion of the topics taught. Only in 2008 did the Israeli government approve an expansion of the allotted hours for civics lessons in both junior high and high schools. Until the time of this expansion, civics was taught over 3 weekly hours over one year (usually the 11th or 12th grade). This expansion led to the official requirement that civics be taught over three weekly hours over two or three years of high school (three weekly hours in the 11th and 12th grades or two weekly hours in the 10th, 11th and 12th grades).

In addition to the expansion of the allotted teaching hours, the ministry of education decided to add a mandatory participatory element to the curriculum, known as the Implementation Task. As part of this hands-on task students are required to identify a civic problem, research its origins and offer a plan of action in order to bring to its resolution.

As previously mentioned, following the 2009 elections which brought about the rise of a right-wing coalition government, the new minister of education Gideon Sa'ar declared his will to promote a more nationalistic educational agenda (Kashti, 2010). In regard to the civics curriculum, it was decided to emphasize the national elements in the curriculum that define Israel as a nation-state of the Jewish people.

The Contemporary Civics Curriculum. These social, political and educational developments all led to the contemporary civics curriculum standards as was taught in the three classrooms that stood at the heart of this study. In the following section, I will expand on the different components of this curriculum as they appear in the official publication by the ministry of education (Israeli Ministry of Education, 1994):

Population. As mentioned, this curriculum is significant due to the decision that it be taught in all of the tracks of the Israeli educational system. These include the Jewish secular, Jewish religious, Arab and Druze schools. The idea that stands at the base of this decision is to create a unified conception of citizenship to be shared by all groups in Israeli society, while respecting the cultural differences between these groups.

Content. The mandatory topic to be taught is defined as “the government and politics of the state of Israel” and it is broken down into three subtopics: (1) an exploration of the democratic and Jewish values that stand at the foundations of the state of Israel. It is noted that

the tensions between these two sets of values should be considered. In addition, it is also recommended that the students examine the ways in which these two sets of values play out in concrete examples; (2) a survey of the different components and main characteristics of the Israeli government and political system; and (3) a guided discussion of different issues that are prominent in the Israeli political debate, such as the cultural minorities, the relation between the state and the religious institutions and socio-economic policies. In addition to these mandatory topics, the writers offer several elective topics for those students who wish to expand their learning of civics. These electives are all deeper explorations of the mandatory topics.

Educational principles. Several pedagogical principles are offered to assist the teaching of these topics, including: the presentation of different opinions and several points of view, thus emphasizing the values of tolerance and respect toward other opinions; the presentation of the different social and political forces that shape the political system, thus presenting the system as a dynamic one; the comparison of Israeli democracy to other democracies across the globe; the development of higher level thinking skills such as analysis, application and evaluation, thus promoting students who are independent learners; the incorporation of current events both as a source of knowledge and as a unit that is to be analyzed based on critical thinking skills; the incorporation of both primary and secondary documents; and the incorporation of statistical data while understanding the limits of this method.

Goals. Based on these general principles, the following educational goals were defined: cognitive goals – the transmission of knowledge regarding the political, social and economical systems. The students will know about the Israeli political system, will learn facts about Israeli society, will study key terms from the fields of social sciences and political thought and will be

exposed to a plethora of opinions regarding different issues and topics. The emphasis will be put on the students' ability to evaluate different social and political issues from multiple perspectives; value-based goals – the students should internalize the values of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. Therefore, they should develop their civic identity in addition to their national identity, respect human rights and civil rights, be willing to fulfill their duties as citizens while demanding their rights and participate in public issues. Additional education goals are defined as disposition goals – the students will be able to implement the ideas and values that were taught when evaluating different problems and issues related to the Israeli political system. Therefore they will be expected to use critical thinking skills, reach conclusions based on facts, identify connections between different social phenomena, understand the difference between an opinion and an argument, develop complex opinions and be tolerant toward different opinions.

Subjects. Based on these goals the writers offer a list of subjects to be taught, explaining that “the execution of these curriculum goals will lead to a political education process that will promote good intelligent citizens that are involved in the public life of the Jewish-democratic state” (Israeli Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 11). This list includes the following topics: the Israeli Declaration of Independence; Israel as a Jewish state – different opinions, the relationships between the state of Israel and the Diaspora Jews; Israel as a democratic state – the concepts of liberty, equality, rule of the people, limitations of government, rule of law, majority-minority relations, political culture, defensive democracy and state-religion relations; Israeli politics and government – constitutional foundations, citizenship, human rights and civil rights, mass media, the parliamentary system, elections, political parties, the separation of powers, the

branches of government, the role of the president, democratic supervision, the local government, religious institutions and the peace process between Israel and its neighbors.

The Official Ministry of Education Textbook. In 2000, the Ministry of Education published the official textbook “To be citizens in Israel: A Jewish and democratic state” (Adan, Ashkenazi, & Alpersen, 2000), based on these new curriculum standards. Due to the fact that this textbook was used in all three classes that took part in this study, in the following I will detail the components of this book. In the teachers’ guide that accompanies the textbook (Adan & Ashkenazi, 2004), the writers state that the purpose of teaching civics is a substantive one, and that education toward citizenship should be based on clear values. They explain that only in this manner “will it be able to instill the needed skills for life in a democratic society and to develop a person and a citizen that is willing to live in such a society and to behave based on its values and principles” (p. 6).

The textbook itself is divided into three parts: (1) Israel as a Jewish state (2) Israel as a democratic state and (3) the government, society and politics of Israel. The rationale of this division is to first present to the students the values, terms and definitions regarding the state of Israel as both Jewish (part 1) and democratic (part 2), and then to show how these factors are manifested *de facto* in the state (part 3).

In the first part of the textbook, the writers offer six different approaches to the question regarding the connection between the Jewish religion and the state of Israel: (a) Israel as a state of the Torah; (b) a national-religious state; (c) a Jewish cultural state; (d) a state for the Jewish Diaspora; (e) a Jewish majority state; and (f) a state for all its citizens. They explain that these approaches can be set on a continuum and thus, as pointed out by Pinson (2007), pose the two

extreme approaches as set in the fringes. In this manner they present the opinion that these two extreme approaches are of less relevance in the ongoing debate regarding Israel as a Jewish-democratic state. They explain that the aspiration of the supporters of approach (a) is to create a religious state that is non-democratic in nature, and that supporters of approach (f) ignore the Jewish characteristic of the state. In other words, these two extreme approaches represent opinions that do not fit with the authors' assumptions that see Israel as both Jewish and democratic.

The second part of the textbook is dedicated to Israel as a democratic state. In the introduction to this section it is explained that democracy may be seen “both as a mode of government and as an ideal” (Adan et al., 2000, p. 83) and that the modern democratic state was founded on the idea of the “social contract” that was formed in order to promise the protection of civil rights. The majority of this part of the book is composed of a chapter focused on the teaching of the principles of democracy and includes the following topics: people sovereignty, pluralism and tolerance, majority decision, human, civil and social rights and the restriction of power.

The third part of the textbook is dedicated to showing how the principles of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state manifest in reality. This section includes chapters about the laws of the state, the Israeli society, the political parties and elections and the minorities in Israel.

The Civics Bagrut Exam. Although the nationwide Bagrut exam is not referred to in the curriculum standards, the authors of the teachers' guide that accompanies the official Ministry of Education textbook (Adan & Ashkenazi, 2004) mention that evaluation is an inherent part of the educational process. Therefore they emphasize the need to create connections between the goals,

pedagogical strategies and evaluation process of the official civics curriculum. They offer to compose exams that include “a wide sample of the content and skills from the curriculum standards” (p. 101).

In an article by the now former Ministry of Education civics instruction supervisor that was mentioned in the introductory chapter (Cohen, in press), the author explains that the changes in the curriculum standards naturally led to changes in the Bagrut exam as well. He identified the main shift as a move from questions that demanded that the students memorize facts based on the previous curriculum, to questions that required them to analyze events and opinions in congruence with the new curriculum standards.

Cohen (in press) details the current structure and main characteristics of the Bagrut exam. The exam is composed of knowledge-based questions that require a demonstration of basic knowledge and terms in the field of civics. He points to the fact that some questions also require integration between knowledge from different parts of the curriculum. In addition, the exam includes evaluation and application questions that demand that the students identify different elements from the curriculum in the context of current events and opinion articles. The exam also includes opinion questions that require the students to present a clear argument regarding a public issue while referring to solid justifications that support this argument.

With the approval of the expansion of the civics lessons' allotted hours, an additional mode of evaluation was added in the form of the Implementation Task mentioned above. This research-based project forces the students, working in groups of 3-5 each, to pinpoint a specific problem connected to a civic topic presented by the teacher. Each group is then required to conduct a small-scale study of this problem that will lead them to offer a practical solution.

Cohen (in press) explains that these three types of questions that appear on the Bagrut, in addition to the implementation task, reflect what he sees as the essential stages of the CCE process, that includes: (1) the acquirement of knowledge; (2) the evaluation of current events; (3) the development of personal opinions; and (4) civic participation.

After presenting the theoretical considerations regarding the general field of CCE and displaying a background of the specific case study of teaching civics as part of the Israeli Educational system, I will conclude this Review of the Literature and Theoretical Framework chapter with a survey of the academic literature regarding the teaching of civics in the Israeli context. In this manner I will be able to situate this specific study as part of the larger academic discourse.

A Review of the Academic Literature. The topic of the teaching of civics in Israel stood at the heart of numerous academic studies throughout the years. These studies concentrated on different aspects such as the historical development of the field, empirical studies, diversity issues, opinion surveys and policy papers.

Historical Studies. Tesler (2005) conducted an historical study following the development of the field of the teaching of civics in Israel. Her main argument is that throughout the years a clear and coherent CCE plan was never developed due to the high degrees of social and political tension that is highly connected to this subject matter. This reality led to the current situation in which each social group teaches this subject matter in the way they find fit, emphasizing the knowledge, values and dispositions that they believe in. Tesler warns that this reality leads to a dangerous situation in which no clear CCE plan is implemented nationwide.

Another historical study concentrated on the nationwide Bagrut matriculation exams (Ben Ari & Mor, 2005). The researchers show the changes in the Bagrut exams over the years. Particularly, they illuminate the shifts between active and passive modes of citizenship as they are reflected in these exams.

Empirical Studies. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, a recent quantitative study showed that civic classes had only minor effects on the students' democratic attitudes (Perliger et al., 2006). Ichilov (1999) reached a similar conclusion in her study of the teaching of civics in Israel as part of the Civic Education Study of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) (Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999). This study of the Israeli system included an evaluation of several aspects of CCE in Israel. For example, an evaluation of the recommendations of the 1996 committee mentioned above revealed the existence of several conceptions of CCE: on the one hand the committee recommended the teaching of the substantive foundations of Israel as a Jewish democratic state with the use of topics such as the Zionist ideology, the gathering of the exiles and the interrelationships between Israel and the Jews of the Diaspora. On the other hand, an emphasis was put on the teaching of the procedural principles, process and institutions of the democratic regime. In addition, the committee recommended the development of students' skills regarding their ability to consider complexity of issues, and to critically assess arguments. This trend of inconsistency and incoherence was apparent in the examination of the instructional materials as well. The main finding was the existence of tensions between active and passive dimensions of citizenship as well as between particularistic and universal dimensions. Ichilov (1999) explains that "these two sets of orientations may often be inconsistent and even in conflict with one another" (p. 385),

which led her to reach the conclusion that “the formal curriculum seems to offer unsystematic and sporadic treatment of citizenship education” (p. 390). Whereas this groundbreaking study is of high importance and resonates with the original impetus of my own study, it seems as if it was mainly concerned with presenting an initial survey rather than supplying an in-depth analysis.

An additional empirical study of this sort that is worth mentioning is the work by Pinson (2007) who presents a critical approach to the topic of CCE in Israel while “question[ing] the democratic nature of the state of Israel and its ability to maintain its democratic character while defining itself as a Jewish state” (p. 352). In this way Pinson wishes to move away from the traditional studies of CCE that put emphasis on knowledge, skills and dispositions. Pinson clearly explains the inherent tension that exists between the definitions of Israel as both a Jewish and democratic state, stating that:

On the one hand Israel, being a democratic state, has committed itself to provide equal individual democratic rights to all its citizens, regardless of their nationality or religion. At the same time, its definition as a Jewish state means that membership in the Israeli civic collective is determined first and foremost in terms of membership in a national-ethnic group, rather than according to universal civil criteria (p. 357).

In her research Pinson (2007) examined the ongoing tension between the inclusionary and exclusionary nature of CCE and the difficulties of the educational system aimed at promoting democracy in such a reality. She surveyed the official textbook published by the Ministry of Education and conducted interviews with 13 officials in the Ministry. Her main argument is that whereas the textbook adopts a pluralistic approach while displaying multiple

conceptions of citizenship, it makes sure to explain which approaches are legitimate and which are not, thus painting several points of view as illegitimate and thus excluding them from the actual discourse, as demonstrated above. Pinson explains that in this manner the official discourse being taught in the civics lessons in fact “reinforces the definition of Israel as an ethno-national state” (p. 369).

Diversity Studies. Another area of research within the large field of CCE is that of diversity studies, relating to the study of the experiences of different social and cultural minority groups within Israeli society. In their study Ichilov, Salomon and Inbar (2005) compared conceptions of democratic citizenship between the Jewish and non-Jewish youth. They examined the following criteria: the amount of trust in the political institutions, the feeling that the elected representatives are accountable toward the citizens and the sense of self-political efficacy. The results of this study showed that youth from the Arab minority suffered from a low degree of trust in these three aspects of their citizenship in Israel.

In her study Eisikovits (2005) concentrated on another dominant minority group in Israeli society, that of the immigrants from the former U.S.S.R. countries. As mentioned in the Introduction chapter, she found that non-democratic notions of citizenship, which were rooted in youths’ experiences in non-democratic migrant countries, still had influence in their new democratic home country, thus causing conflict with their CCE experiences.

Opinion Surveys. An additional field in which numerous studies have been conducted over the years is that of large-scale opinion surveys. A good example is the Israeli Democracy Index that was also mentioned in the previous chapter. The 2004 index (Arian, Barnea, & Ben-Nun, 2004) was dedicated to the opinions of youth between ages 15-18 regarding Israeli

democracy. This survey included questions relating to the following issues: internalization of democratic values, feelings toward the Israeli state and society, patterns of political participation and the influence of the civics lessons at school. The results of this survey showed a clear tendency of Israeli youth toward non-democratic values and behaviors. In a similar study also dedicated to youth's perspectives on democracy, Ichilov, Bar Tal and Mazawi (1989) found that students had difficulties applying democratic principles when engaging in social controversies.

Another such large-scale survey (Ben Sira, 1990) included 1840 participants from 24 different high schools from several geographic areas around the country. This survey found that although the students did respect the procedural aspects of Israeli democracy, such as the voting process, they showed less respect for other substantive aspects of democracy, such as tolerance towards citizens that do not share the same political views. In addition, this survey showed that if Israeli students were forced to choose between democratic values and other competing values such as Israel's military strength, the majority would choose the latter (only 13 percent chose the former). Regarding the topic of CCE, this survey showed that most students felt that their political education was framed by their family and not by the civics lessons that they studied at school.

Another survey (Yona, Kaufman, Schield, & Asulin, 1994) dealt with the pedagogical issue of the use of current events in the Israeli classrooms. This survey included 3,521 participants from all age groups included in the Israeli educational system. This survey showed that both teachers and students approved of the use of topics derived from current events in their lessons. The majority of the students expressed the feeling that the discussion of current events

helped them understand the topics being taught, developed their intellectual skills and educated them to be tolerant and to participate publicly.

An additional survey (Kaniel, 1986) should be noted in the sense that it concentrated on the teachers and not the students. This survey included 434 teachers from different schools and school branches (both secular and religious schools). The researcher was interested in the teachers' expectations from the Ministry of Education regarding their preparation as teachers that teach the topic of democratic citizenship. Most of the teachers expressed their feelings that teaching for democracy should not be seen as just another subject matter but rather as a way of life. Therefore, their expectations included their preference that democracy would be taught across the curriculum and in extracurricular activities. In addition, this survey showed that most teachers did not see their role as mere transmitters of knowledge, but rather as role models that encourage democratic behavior by promoting a certain type of school culture.

Policy Papers. In a previous research by Ichilov (1988), she offered an overview of all of the studies regarding the teaching of civics in Israel conducted until the time of writing. Based on this survey she came to the conclusion that a clear and coherent conception of the role of the teaching of civics is absent from the educational system, thus maintaining the reality of mixed messages.

Criticism of a different sort towards the civics curriculum was presented recently in a paper titled "The Teaching of Civics in Israel: A One-Way Indoctrination" (Geiger, 2009). The author surveyed the civics textbooks, professional development programs and exams issued by the Ministry of Education over the past ten years. Based on this evaluation, he came to the conclusion that the teaching of civics ignores the nationalistic aspect of the state of Israel and

what he sees as the basic fact that Israel is and should continue to be a Jewish state. As a result, he offered to shelve the popular textbooks and replace it with a new civics curriculum and textbooks.

Chapter Summary

A good summary of this chapter, dealing both with the contemporary academic discourse of CCE and with the topic of the teaching of teaching civics in Israel, was presented in an article by Zohar (in press) who served as the Chairperson of the Pedagogical Secretariat at the Ministry of Education between 2006 – 2009. In this capacity Zohar led a pedagogic reform that mainly included the integration of education for thinking and understanding into various school subject matters. In this article she concentrates on the changes in the civics subject matter in this regard.

Zohar (in press) explains that civics as a subject matter inherently includes elements of developing thinking skills in addition to the memorization of facts. She explains that this is the reason civics is considered by both students and teachers alike to be a difficult subject matter. As an indication of this perceived difficulty, the average nationwide Bagrut exam grade scores in civics are low when compared to other subjects. In an investigation that she led while serving in the ministry, she found that in the actual civics classes the teachers are mainly concerned with covering all the material that will appear on the Bagrut exam. Therefore, she found, not much time was dedicated to the development of thinking skills, despite the fact that the development of such skills clearly appears in the goals of this curriculum.

Zohar (in press) summarizes her article relating to the existing situation of the teaching of civics in Israel in relation to her personal aspirations regarding the required changes she thinks that this subject matter deserves. She explains that:

The civics lessons can be lessons in which the students are required to be passive recipients of facts and knowledge ... in most cases this knowledge is of no significance for the students and therefore they do not apply this knowledge to life outside of the school (p. 15).

In contrast, she explains that the civics lessons may be lessons in which the students “ask challenging questions, present dilemmas, search for knowledge, raise arguments, conduct comparisons, derive at conclusions and much more” (Zohar, in press, p. 15). She continues, claiming, “such lessons are required not only so that students will obtain new knowledge. They are required so that the students will learn how to use such knowledge in order to develop intelligent and fact-based personal opinions, which is the heart of civic education” (p. 15).

These final thoughts touch on the fundamental essence of the teaching of civics in the Israeli setting as presented in the ongoing academic and non-academic debates displayed throughout this chapter. The reality of teaching civics in Israel should therefore be seen as a mere example of the complexity of social and political issues reflected in this specific prism. It is exactly this complex reality that I wished to better understand throughout this study. In the following chapter I will display the methodological considerations that guided me throughout this endeavor.

METHODOLOGY

In order to understand the ways in which the conceptions of CCE manifest in the three Israeli civics classrooms that stood at the heart of this study, I utilized a qualitative instrumental collective case study approach (Stake, 1995), influenced by the research traditions of grounded theory and the use of ideal types. These traditions served my initial aspirations to conduct research bounded in the genre of qualitative studies, defined as the study of “human groups, seeking to understand how they collectively form and maintain a culture” (Marshall & Rossman, 2010, p. 19). Typically, this goal is achieved by studying “groups, communities, organizations, or perhaps social movements through long-term immersion in the setting and by using a variety of data collection methods” (Marshall & Rossman, 2010, p. 19). In this case, I was interested in studying the culture of citizenship as it existed in the educational setting of civics lessons in the Israeli context.

Rationale

As stated in the introductory chapter, I was inspired by scholars such as Glaser and Strauss (1967), Geertz (1973) and Britzman (2003), adopting the approach that enables the researcher to touch upon practical knowledge and thus provide some insights regarding how we understand the educational arena. It is important to point out that the purpose of such research is not to simply supply a description of what occurs in a classroom, but rather to explore the ways in which different ideas, narratives and ideologies play out in reality. Therefore, this study may be

characterized as instrumental, based on my will to understand the ways in which conceptions influence practice in the civics classrooms, while relating to the structure, curriculum and pedagogy of the CCE process.

In their groundbreaking sociological research, Glaser and Strauss (1967) presented the notion of grounded theory. They offer an inductive research method in which theory is to be discovered based on what is found in the field, dismissing the idea that a researcher needs to hold any theoretical prepositions whatsoever. They explain that in this manner “the concept is undoubtedly a relevant theoretical abstraction about what is going on in the area studied” (p. 23). They offer a complex protocol of fracturing and coding based on categories and sub categories in order to understand main patterns and themes that in turn may generate general insights. Followers of this research tradition such as Marshall and Rossman (2010) point to the difficulties in inducting theories derived exclusively on what is found in the field. Therefore, they offer a more subtle approach in which the review of literature of the topic of study supplies general theoretical constructs, categories, and properties that can be utilized in order to organize the new data and to understand what is being observed. Several researches in the field of social studies education have implemented this methodological approach in numerous studies over the years (Hess, 2002; Larson & Keiper, 2002; Parker & Gehrke, 1986; Wade, 1995)

The modified grounded theory research method resembles the notion of ideal types, presented by one of the founders of the social sciences, the German sociologist Max Weber (1949). Weber defined ideal types as a “mental construct for the scrutiny and systematic characterization of individual concrete patterns which are significant in their uniqueness” (p. 100). Weber proposes the use of an ideal display of a phenomenon that has been created by what

he refers to as an “analytical accentuation of certain elements of reality” (p. 90). With the ideal types in hand, Weber explains that the next step of research is the comparison of the actual phenomenon to these ideals. This comparison may generate insights regarding the manner in which the phenomenon approximates or rather exceeds the ideal. With this heuristic device, a researcher may better understand the social circumstances of reality at a given place and time. Furthermore, numerous case studies may be compared, thus revealing long-term processes as well. Weber explains that by composing numerous ideal types regarding a wider question, we may supply the platform for an evaluation of the relationship between these different ideal types, creating an even deeper understanding of a complex social reality.

Throughout the years several scholars have conducted research using the method of ideal types in the general field of education (Banks, 1998; Hayhoe, 2007; Holmes, 1981), and particularly in the field of CCE (Sears & Hughes, 1996; J Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). These researchers implemented the idea of composing ideal types based on specific case studies, questioning the different educational aspects of each type they identified. For example, Banks, the prominent scholar of multicultural education, explains that the use of ideal types is appropriate when in reality these types are not mutually exclusive but rather interrelated and overlapping. It is exactly in such cases, he explains, that the use of several ideal types is “a useful conceptual tool for thinking about knowledge and planning” (Banks, 1993a, p. 6).

The main flaw of such studies is the potential lack of a strong theoretical ground on which the ideal types presented are based. This critique is mainly based on the famous writings of Karl Popper (1965), who stressed the use of a more deductive point of view, one that bases the understanding of the world on a solid hypothesis solely derived from observations. He argues

that such a hypothesis should be checked and rechecked by additional observations, and in time, may be refuted. Popper explains that this sort of understanding is more scientific and it differs from explanations that are based on an ongoing gathering of observations that tend to reinforce themselves. In the realm of this inductive methodology, this ability to refute a theory by setting additional counter options does not exist. As a result, Popper explains, the emphasis on the inductive assumptions and methods may in fact encourage pseudo-scientific studies.

Therefore, ideal types that represent the specific reality of the cases studied by the research alone are less satisfactory. When creating ideal types, the researcher should aspire to correlate the types with the theoretical-philosophical debate, which will enable a future evaluation of multiple case studies. In other words, based on Popper (1965), it may be claimed that ideal types that were derived from the inductive methodology leave room to question the process of generalization that is based on these cases alone. In fact, this methodology contradicts Weber's (1949) original suggestion to compose ideal types that are based on numerous case studies in order to create a true ideal representation of the phenomenon. It may be claimed that this representation can never be reached due to the problem of the researcher's personal bias. Nevertheless, this does not dismiss the researcher's responsibility to aspire to reach the best representation based on the theoretical aspect of the field of study. Whereas I have no aspirations to create generalizations based on this study alone, these insights guided me when constructing ideal types based on this study, as will be presented in the following Research Data, Findings and Analysis chapter.³

³ It is important to mention that creation of such ideal types was not seen as a goal in itself, but rather as part of the research process. Nevertheless, I think that even when limited, such ideal types may help in understanding the influence of the different conceptions of CCE as they play out in the classrooms, and thus their importance.

Acknowledging these methodological foundations, I have first defined the phenomenon I wish to study as the manifestations of conceptions of CCE in Israeli civics classrooms. The main justification for relying on these research traditions in order to explore this topic is the current reality of this field of study as presented in the Review of the Literature and Theoretical Framework chapter. The fact that the general discourse in the field of CCE is overwhelming in its richness has led to a situation in which it is difficult to grasp the different undercurrent civic philosophies that influence classroom practice. Combining these research traditions, I was able to first identify the main characteristics of CCE as they appeared in the ongoing academic discourse as presented in the previous literature review chapter. In this manner I was able to approach this complex and nuanced topic with some sort of a foundational insight, but also maintain my sensibility to the particular nature of the cases as they unfolded.

In sum, I chose this methodological approach due to my desire to concentrate on the political and social contexts of the civics classrooms examined. It seems that this instrumental collective case study approach, influenced by the traditions of grounded theory and the use of ideal types, best fit my aspirations to answer the research questions while relating to the sociocultural theoretical framework.

Role of the Researcher

Marshall and Rossman (2011) explain that the researcher's personal experiences influence her/his excitement and passion toward research. Therefore, they recommend displaying the different elements of the researcher's personal role in order to enable the readers to better assess

how these elements influenced the study. In the following section, I will present a short account regarding the ways in which my own personal experiences may have impacted the study of the teaching of civics in Israel.

Growing up in a diverse and intense city such as Jerusalem, one gains an understanding of the ongoing dialogue and mutual commitment between the individual and the society in which s/he lives. In my belief, this understanding is one of the authentic meanings of civic virtue. With a commitment to this virtue, I have always seen myself as an active partner and agent in the effort to influence the theoretical, public, and educational discourse on CCE.

My passion for current events is shared by most of those who grew up in Israel. A country that can be characterized by its intensity yields citizens that literally consume news reports around the clock. My choice to study political science at both the undergraduate and the graduate level represents my desire to better understand questions of social life in such a complex reality. The main focus of my dissertation project – the different conceptions of CCE – is an example of the importance I see in understanding the deeper philosophical layers that influence both the private and public life.

I expected to find similarities between myself and the teachers that stood at the heart of this study. Due to the fact that the American model of the social studies does not exist in Israel, these individuals, just like me, chose the task of teaching civics as an independent subject matter. In Israel, in order to teach civics one must hold a Bachelor's degree (usually in political science) as well as a certification in the teaching of civics. Therefore, I expected to find teachers that have had ongoing opportunities to discuss the social issues that dominate the political discourse in Israel on both theoretical and practical levels.

My experience working with children in a youth group and as teacher in the Jerusalem area has led me to understand the role of the teacher as a gatekeeper, even before I was exposed to Thornton's (1991) famous term. As a teacher in an inner city school, I was confronted with the difficulty of teaching students from lower socio-economic levels about the political system which they feel has failed them. This may explain the importance I see in concentrating on the teachers' experiences, as opposed to issues of policy or of the official curriculum. The intensity of some of the personal experiences I had with my students in the classroom, while the door was closed behind me, led me to appreciate research that enables a better understanding of the teachers' philosophical worldviews and how those eventually influence educational actions.

Conducting research in Israel, it is important to point out that I am a secular Ashkenazi Jew of European origin who identifies mainly with the humanistic Jewish culture as it has developed in the Israeli context. This culture represents the combination of the modern western school of thought with Jewish nationalism. Therefore, it felt natural for me to choose to concentrate on schools from the state Jewish secular educational track. It is my belief that my personal position and acquaintance with this culture helped in understanding the deeper levels of what I found in the field. I have decided to exclude both the Jewish religious schools and the non-Jewish schools from this study due to my fear that topics such as church-state relationships and the Israeli-Arab conflict will dominate the study and create a divergence from my main interest.

The fact that I myself belong to the dominant Jewish secular cultural group, and that I am a student at an ivy league American university, could also raise concerns and influenced this choice. Despite my familiarity with the type of schools in which the study took place, there were

still incidents in which I was reminded of the suspicion that I raised with my very presence. For example, in one observation a student looked toward me while I was taking notes and said “Why is he writing all the time? What is it that he is writing? I have the right to know what it is that he is writing about me.” I could only imagine the amount of suspicion that my presence would have had in a religious or an Arab school, where my position as a stranger would have been clearly apparent (among others, due to the fact that I do not wear a *kippah*).

Serving as a past instructor for a graduate-level course at Teachers College Columbia University, and my previous position as an on-site supervisor for student teachers studying in New York City, I have learned that these type of experiences and concerns cross national boundaries. This reinforces the importance I see in conducting research while relating to the international context in an attempt to start a global dialogue on the subject of CCE. By examining the subject of CCE through the comparative international lens, I hope to situate this research in relation to the global discourse about this topic from a cross-cultural perspective. Therefore, in the following Research Data, Findings and Analysis chapters, I will connect insights derived from the specific Israeli case study to larger theoretical themes that are relevant for different national settings across the globe.

Bounding the Study

Case Identification, Settings and Participants. The collection of data for this study took place over a period of six months, between October 2011 and April 2012. As stated, it was framed as a collective instrumental case study (Stake, 1995) of three Israeli public state Jewish secular high

school civics classrooms from the Jerusalem area. Being both Israel's capital⁴ and its largest city,⁵ Jerusalem schools offer a good representation of the main social issues and political tensions encountered by civics teachers nationwide. As one of the teachers explained to me in an interview, reflecting this point, "we are in Jerusalem and this is Israeli society. If you want to teach civics here you will get your hands dirty."

Following the considerations of representation, balance and variety (Stake, 1995), I used the following criteria in order to choose the three classrooms: (1) the socio-economic status of the student body; (2) the schools' average grade scores in the nationwide matriculation exam; and (3) the teachers' years of experience. Based on these criteria and on the notion of convenient sampling (Marshall & Rossman, 2010) the three classrooms have been chosen as the setting for this study.

It is important to point out that despite this variance between the participating teachers, they have all earned their Master's degrees at a specialized academic program in Democracy and Citizenship Studies under the sponsorship of the Department of Political Science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Gilo Center for Citizenship, Democracy and Civic Education. This program strives to create a better understanding of the process of democracy and citizenship in Israel and around the world, as well as of the issues, dilemmas, controversies and critiques associated with the subject (The Gilo Center for Citizenship Democracy and Civic Education, 2003). The rationale for concentrating on teachers who graduated from the same specific

⁴ Jerusalem was proclaimed as Israel's capital in 1950. Nevertheless, the U. N., the E.U. countries and the U.S.A. do not recognize its status due to the ongoing dispute with the Palestinians and other Arab countries. Therefore, most countries maintain their embassies in Tel Aviv ("Israel," 2012).

⁵ At the end of 2010 the population of Jerusalem was estimated at 789,000 (Choshen & Korach, 2011).

program was the will to combine research of various cases on the one hand, while maintaining a clear focus on the other. The fact that these teachers all graduated from this academic program enabled the concentration on the topic of conceptions of CCE. The assumption was that these teachers have already had intense exposure to such conceptions and have thought about these issues during their training. Thus, as I learned throughout this study, they have already established and reflected on their own personal point of view regarding this study's main issue.

The details of the three schools and teachers that stood at the heart of this study⁶ are as follows:⁷

The Dror School. A school aimed at students who were expelled from other institutions and thus may be seen as the last chance before students decide to quit their studying altogether. This school's main goal is to make sure that the students pass the nationwide matriculation Bagrut exam, seen as the most important barrier that the students should pass. Most of the students in this school come from the lower socio-economic class. **Ben** teaches a 12th grade civics course. He has 5 years of experience as a civics and history teacher, all of which he has spent in the Dror school. He is a homeroom teacher and beginning the 2011-2012 school year he serves as part of the school's administration, mainly in charge of the school's extracurricular activities.

⁶ See Table 1 - Data Collection Summary.

⁷ All of the names that are mentioned, including the names of the schools, the teachers and the students are pseudonyms. The following information was obtained from the schools' web sites as well as from the web site of the Israeli Ministry of Education and the website of the Jerusalem Municipality that detail information regarding the schools in the state and in the city. In order to protect the participants' confidentiality, the addresses of these websites will not be detailed.

The Zohar School. A school that is based on the comprehensive model, aspiring to create interactions between different parts of Jewish secular society. In order to accommodate different students, the school offers numerous concentrations ranging from academic excellence to vocational training. In order to maintain the school's ideology, the school admits students from both wealthy and poor neighborhoods and thus the student body consists of a mixture of students from the lower, middle and upper-middle socio-economic classes. **Sarah** teaches a 10th grade civics course. An experienced teacher of more than 20 years, she has taught history, geography and civics in numerous schools in the Jerusalem area as well as spent several years teaching in a Jewish school in the U.S.A. She is a homeroom teacher and after spending several years as the head of the entire 10th grade cohort, she decided that in the 2011-2012 school year she would take a break from any school administrative duties.

The Nir School. A high-achieving institution that motivates the students to achieve academic excellence. This school appears on the top of the list of the average grade scores on the nationwide matriculation Bagrut exam. Most of the students in this school come from the middle or upper-middle socio-economic class. **Adam** is a teacher of an 11th grade civics course. He is in his fourth year as a teacher, and has taught only at the Nir School. He teaches civics, history and Arabic, and also serves as a home room teacher for a class in the 11th grade. In addition, he is the coordinator of the school debate team and took on the role of supervising the school's employment policies.

Table 1 - Data Collection Summary Table

	The Nir School	The Dror School	The Zohar School	Total
Course Observed	Civics	Civics	Civics	
Grade Level	11 th	12 th	10 th	
Teacher	Adam	Ben	Sarah	
Lessons Observed (the duration of the lessons in all schools was 45 minutes long)	18 lessons	22 lessons	19 lessons	59 lessons
Additional Observations (not lessons)	1 day field trip		A general 10 th grade cohort assembly	2 additional observations
Interviews with Teachers	3 interviews	3 interviews	3 interviews	9 interviews
Documents Analyzed	2 tests	1 test 2 worksheets 3 information sheets	1 test 1 short quiz 1 worksheet	11 documents

Data Collection

Data for this research was collected over a period of six months in an attempt to grasp the holistic educational process in these multiple sites. As mentioned, in order to narrow the scope of the study, I concentrated mainly on the teachers' experiences, based on the notion that teachers

are key figures when trying to evaluate what goes on in classrooms (Thornton, 1991). Data was gathered based on three resources (Marshall & Rossman, 2010): (1) observations of the classroom lessons; (2) semi-structured interviews of the teachers; and (3) analysis of teacher-generated materials such as handouts, assigned projects and exams.

In order to ensure that I generate meaningful insights based on this data, I developed in advance three research protocols that were utilized throughout this study. These included a protocol for observations,⁸ interviews⁹ as well as of an analysis of teacher-generated materials.¹⁰ All these protocols have been influenced by previous studies focused on teachers' conceptions regarding political issues (Hess, 2009; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Linked to the research questions of this study, these protocols include an examination of the conceptualization of CCE as well as a reference to the reality of the interactions between these different conceptions.

The observation protocol drew on the ongoing discourse regarding the questions of CCE, as presented in the previous Review of the Literature and Theoretical Framework chapter, in order to pinpoint the main themes regarding these issues. For example, I was interested in examining the ways in which the teachers' conceptions influenced the knowledge, values and dispositions as they were presented throughout the lessons.

Drawing from previous studies regarding the teachers' ability to reflect on the reality in the classroom (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993), I developed the interview protocol that relates to the teachers' assumptions, goals and strategies. For example, several questions related to the

⁸ See Appendix A – Observation Protocol.

⁹ See Appendix B – Teacher Interview Protocol.

¹⁰ See Appendix C - Document Analysis Protocol.

existence of competing conceptions of CCE. Thus, I was able to better understand the interactions between the conceptions in the context of the classroom settings.

The protocol for the document analysis was based on the research method of literary analysis (Alridge, 2006; Brown & Brown, 2010; Hess, 2005). When framing this protocol, I emphasized the guiding criteria that helped understand the ways in which the different conceptions of CCE were portrayed in the texts that were examined.

Over the course of this study, I observed all of the civics lessons in all three cases throughout a period of six months. Inspired by studies conducted in a similar manner (Hansen, 2007) I attempted to experience the life of the classroom, acknowledging the fact that in my presence I too had influence on the activities I was observing. In order to mitigate this influence I kept quiet throughout these observations, sitting as far away as I could from the teachers' position, writing notes while looking mainly toward the notebook in front of me. I made a point of maintaining silent behavior even when walking to and from the classrooms and in those occasions when students approached me with questions. Short conversations with the teachers took place in some cases right after the observations. I made sure to return to the topics raised in these conversations when conducting the official interviews.

I interviewed each teacher three times - at the beginning, middle and end of this six-month period. These interviews were audio recorded and about two hours each and took place in neutral locations such as coffee shops and private offices located in the schools' buildings. In any case, the interviews did not take place in the classrooms themselves, in an attempt to maintain the neutral atmosphere. The interview protocols were used in order to supply a framework to these long and intense conversations, while enabling enough space to expand on additional issues

such as events I noticed over the observations as well as general significant events that happened in the school, the city, the state and in the world at the time of the study.

Throughout the period of this study, I made a point of obtaining any paper document that was hand out by the teachers as part of their lessons. In this manner I obtained news articles, opinion editorials, photos, exercises and exams.

The goal of implementing this three-stage process of data collection was to trace the different conceptions of CCE as they appeared in the different classroom activities. It is important to point out that I did not reveal my own thoughts regarding the different existing conceptions of CCE to the teachers participating in the study. In this way I reduced the possibility of creating any bias and thus broadened the possibilities of my own interpretation. Over the official interviews and throughout the short conversations after the observations, the teachers were given opportunities to discuss wide aspects of the issue of conceptions of CCE and how they play out in their classroom.

Data Analysis

Marshall and Rossman (2010) explain, “in qualitative studies, data collection and analysis typically go hand in hand to build a coherent interpretation” (p. 208). Therefore, despite the original plan for data analysis that was framed in advance as a general road map for this stage of the study, looking back I acknowledge the fact that the actual analysis was not always as linear as described.

Following Creswell's (2008) model of spiral data analysis, I used a four-stage process in order to analyze the data and generate theoretical insights. First, I transcribed the teacher interviews as well as the field notes from the observations and the results of the document analyses. I chose to analyze the data using the Nvivo9 data analysis software due to its ability to organize data efficiently. After organizing the data, I read the transcriptions in an attempt to emerge myself in the details. In the second stage, I raised questions and comments that led me to the next stage of the analysis. In the third stage, I supplied categories for coding based on the generated data as well as memos that represented my own reflections while considering the different codes.¹¹ In this stage I asked an additional research assistant to code several parts of the data independently in order to test the consistency of the coding process. I then conducted multiple rounds of coding and recoding in order to refine the codes. In the fourth stage of the analysis, I interpreted the data based on the themes that emerged from the coding process while reflecting on the conceptions and theories that guided this study. In order to supply answers to the research questions, I specifically tried to reach thematic understandings regarding the ways in which the teachers' conceptions of CCE played out in the classroom reality, as will be presented in the Discussion and Implications chapter.

Triangulation

The process of triangulation is defined as “a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories

¹¹ See Appendix D – Sample List of Codes and Appendix E - Sample Quotes Compiled Under Code “Participatory Conception.”

in a study” (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 126). In order to increase internal validity and the reliability of this study, such triangulation protocols were implemented. Methods and source triangulation was achieved by using, as mentioned, a variety of sources for data. These included observations, interviews and document analysis. Throughout the data collection stage of this study I made a point of comparing observation notes with the interviewees’ responses and comparing and contrasting opinions and views that were raised. Examining these multiple sources assisted me in understanding the different ways in which the conceptions of CCE were in fact manifest in the three settings, while reducing to an extent my influence as a researcher.

Theory triangulation was implemented by examining the data from the different perspectives of the three teachers that took part in this study. Each teacher presented different views regarding the assumptions, goals, curriculum and pedagogical strategies regarding the issue of CCE. In this sense these different views and opinions informed my conclusions as a result of this study. In addition, I also enabled the three teachers to review and comment on the findings of this study in order to establish credibility (Ely, Anzul, Friedman, Garner, & Steinmetz, 1991).

IRB and Human Subjects Compliance

This study complied with all of the institutional research requirements set forth by the Institutional Review Board of Teachers College Columbia University as well as by the Israeli Ministry of Education Office of the Chief Scientist.

Informed Consent Procedures. All the participants in this study were provided in advance with the Informed Consent Form,¹² which offered a description of the research, the ways in which data was to be used, the ways in which data was to be stored, the steps that were taken to ensure confidentiality and time involvement issues. Participants were informed that the data was to be used to complete this Ph.D. dissertation at Teachers College Columbia University. I also informed the teachers that I intend to share the results of this study following my dissertation defense.

Confidentiality. Participation in this study was on a voluntary basis. As mentioned, pseudonyms were assigned to all teachers, students and schools. All materials connected to the participants, such as the investigator's field notes or teacher-generated files, were all stored in a locked cabinet and will be eventually destroyed.

Risks and Benefits. Participants were provided with a detailed description of the risks and benefits of this research. Due to the fact that the observations and interviews of this study took place in the schools and in public settings, the participants were informed that participation in this study included minimal risks, similar to the everyday risks that they would usually encounter.

Chapter Summary

Over this chapter I presented the methodological guidelines of this study and the rationale of implementing them in relation to the main research questions. In the following chapter I will

¹² See Appendix F – Informed Consent Form.

detail the main findings of this study, concentrating mainly on the initial analysis of the data obtained.

RESEARCH DATA, FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

In the following chapter I will address the main research questions of this study based on the information obtained from the classroom observations, teacher interviews and artifacts content analysis as described in the previous Methodology chapter and in light of the review of the literature and theoretical framework previously described. Inspired by the principles of portraiture (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997), I will first present a general overview of the settings of each of the three schools in which this study took place. The importance of such a description is in the ability to understand the social context of each of the schools and thus better grasp the surroundings in which the civics lessons took place. Afterwards, I will display the main findings of this study in relation to these settings, concentrating mainly on the teachers' assumptions, goals, pedagogy and relationship to the curriculum standards. To conclude this chapter, I will offer a descriptive typology of the CCE process based on these findings. A discussion of the implications of these findings will be presented in the following Discussion and Implications chapter.

The Dror School

Overview. When coordinating my first observation with Ben, I was surprised to learn that the Dror School is set in an unpredictable part of Jerusalem – the school is set in the city center not far from one of the city's loudest and busiest pedestrian malls. Approaching the school for the first time, I encountered what one would expect when arriving at the center of a large city – lines of stores, busy people in suits hurrying to work, groups of loud tourists and quiet Arab

sanitary workers beginning their day. Walking to the school, I could not ignore the plaque on the street wall a couple of blocks away, commemorating the victims of a terrorist suicide attack that happened on this street in the mid 1990's.

The Dror School is housed in a building that does not seem to have any special educational benefits. It is set in a row of similar buildings that you enter after passing a souvenir shop and a store that sells sunglasses. Right in front of the building entrance stands a popular falafel stand. Whereas the first floor consists of administrative offices, only a climb to the classrooms on the second floor reveals that this is indeed a school. The classrooms are medium sized, each with 3-5 rows of desks that can accommodate around 20 students. This small size is not a regular sight in Israeli schools and I at once sensed a feeling of intimacy. Over the course of my observations, I was to find that one of the school's declared goals is in fact to create a feeling of intimacy between the students and the teachers.

One of the first impressions I had from my first meeting with Ben at the Dror School was the fact that all of the teachers held a copy of a key that opens the door to the teachers' lounge and to the staff bathroom. I learned that despite my initial feelings of intimacy these two important areas are off-limits to students. It became clear that the culture of this school is more complex than what I first encountered. The feeling of intimacy was accompanied by the not so intimate feeling of clear borders that were set between the students and the teachers.

Thus, as I was to learn throughout the observations, this school's atmosphere and culture could be characterized by what seemed like a combination between close and personal student-teacher relationships on the one hand and a clear set of rules and regulations on the other. A good example was something I nicknamed as "Ben's daily routine," which opened almost every one of

the civics lessons I observed in Ben's classroom. The routine included the following: when the lesson is supposed to begin Ben enters the classroom, usually to find 1-3 students (in some cases these students are not even part of his class). He then walks down the steps to the street level, not far from the falafel stand, where the students tend to hang out. They greet him, and he invites them to come up to class. After 5 minutes or so Ben returns to his classroom. Some of the students follow him, some do not. As the lesson begins, students continue to trickle into the class. Ben once mentioned to me in a conversation that some teachers in the school don't bother to walk all the way down the steps to gather their students from the street level. Instead, they stand at the balcony that overlooks the busy street from the teachers' lounge and holler at their students to come up to class.

With these general impressions I was soon to learn that the Dror School does not enforce any serious learning culture. In order to illustrate this insight, during one specific observation, I noted and found that all together, over the lesson's duration of an hour and a half, there were 11 cases in which different students entered the class late. This lesson officially started at 9:00 a.m. with Ben conducting his regular routine. After Ben returned from gathering his students from the street at 9:09, there were five students sitting by the desks in the class. Additional students entered the class as individuals or in pairs at the following times: 9:16, 9:17, 9:18, 9:26, 9:28, 9:30, 9:42, 9:52, 9:57 and 10:02. It is important to note that Ben seemed indifferent to these late entries. He allowed all of the late students to enter and take their place behind the desks. To some of the students he even said "I know that you come from far away." On the other hand, when one of the late students asked a question about something that was written on the board, Ben replied

angrily saying “if you wouldn’t have been late you would have known the answer.” This too is a sign of the culture of the Dror School, a mixture between openness and strictness.

Throughout the observations I noticed that students would walk in and out of the classroom freely, sometimes leaving the class not to return. Although in general there was a quiet learning atmosphere in Ben’s lessons, only a minority of the students had a notebook on the desk in front of them and even fewer actually used it to write down the material being taught. I received an explanation of this phenomenon at the beginning of one lesson, in which I overheard one student say “I made photocopies of summaries of the lesson so I don’t have to write anything in class.” Students playing with their cell phones, talking quietly to one another and solving crossword puzzles were common throughout these observations.

It became clear to me that this school culture was highly influenced by what Ben described in an interview as the students’ “difficult backgrounds.” For example, he explained, when he encounters some mode of intolerance between the students, he would explain to them that each student in this school has her/his own personal problems and psychological baggage and that most students respect and understand this fact. I asked Ben if this had to do with the students’ socio-economic status, and he agreed, saying that most of the students in the observed class do indeed come from a lower socio-economic level. He continued to explain that this atmosphere, in which each student is aware that the other students also have complicated personal stories, leads to fewer incidents of violence and that in general the school is characterized by a feeling of tolerance and respect. During another interview, Ben raised this point again, explaining that “in this type of school each student comes with his own baggage and they respect that and in that sense it is like a democracy that promotes pluralism and tolerance.”

In this interview Ben was reminded of one example when, in a private conversation, one of his students decided to tell him that he is gay. Ben remembers that the student was surprised at his teacher's open and tolerant response. The student told Ben that he was expecting a very different reaction, as he was used to receiving when talking to his teachers in schools where he studied in the past.

Throughout the observations it became rather clear that the students in Ben's class are of a very low level of achievement and had a hard time dealing with complex thinking skills. For example, in a lesson about the Diaspora Jews, Ben understood midway into the lesson that the students did not understand the basic meaning of the word Diaspora. Therefore he stopped the flow of the lesson in order to supply a clear definition of this term. Later on in the same lesson Ben talked about the special connections between the Diaspora Jews and the state of Israel. He began the following discussion:

Ben: So how is this connection maintained?

Amnon: On the phone.

Ben: I mean the connection between the states, not between people.

This is an example of how the students in Ben's class have a problem comprehending abstract and theoretical ideas and concepts. I learned that they mainly relate to a concrete and down-to-earth mode of thought. This may be why one student imagined regular people talking on the phone when Ben asked about maintaining a connection between a state and a population.

Another challenge that the students in Ben's class have to deal with is their low level of language skills and vocabulary. For example, when explaining the issue of the Diaspora Jew's own feeling of security, Ben made a connection to the Israeli Law of Return about which they have already learned in a previous lesson. Nevertheless, throughout the explanation it became clear that the students were confused regarding the name of the law:

Zvi: So the Diaspora Jews are afraid of a second holocaust, Holocaust part 2?

Ben: Correct, now this has to do with a law that we learned about, which one?

Alon: The law of settlement!

In this case the student understood the issue and was even able to make the connection to the law that was studied in a previous lesson. Nevertheless, he got confused between the Hebrew word 'return' as in the first law that Ben was referring to (*SHVUT*) and the similar word for settlement (*HIT-YA-SHVUT*) that is pronounced in a similar fashion.

In an interview relating to an exam he gave his students, Ben admitted that most of the students did not understand a certain question because the reading was too hard for them and that the passage they read was too long. In a different interview he was reminded of a professional development class he attended in which the instructor told him that he should have his students read and learn certain topics from the civics curriculum on their own at home. Ben laughed while remembering this incident, explaining, "I can't even give them homework ... they will never read anything on their own," while continuing to laugh for several more minutes.

A good illustration of the fact that the students themselves are also aware of their low

academic level is a heartbreaking story that Ben also spoke of in one of our interviews:

There was this one case when we went to a memorial tent for Yitzchak Rabin. The students were quiet so the instructors at the tent tried to get them to participate. My students answered back saying that they are not intelligent enough to participate when compared to the students from other schools in the city that were also present at the memorial tent.

From this incident we can learn something about the very essence of the way in which these students perceive themselves as part of society, a perception that was adopted by Ben. In this case the student admitted to his lack of ability to take part in the public discourse, a stance that, as I will further explain and develop, may be seen as what I coined as the *abandonment* option.

The culture and atmosphere of the Dror school classes do not appear to encourage a high level of academic achievement. For example, in Ben's lessons the students are not required to have a notebook or to open the textbook. Ben explains this practice saying:

I have no problem that the students don't write things down in their notebooks. I don't need them to write down stuff without really understanding, that is just false consciousness. Of course, when I feel like I am talking to myself I will try to arouse them but I really don't need them to write or to open a book, those are all control mechanisms and I don't need them. It is also part of the school culture, for example, we don't give homework in this school.

Another aspect that characterizes the Dror School is a type of racial tension that exists between the students. For example, the following exchange observed in one lesson when Ben mentioned the American Jews that come to visit Israel on the famous “Birthright” trips:

Tamar: So those are those Americans we see in town that look like they are Russian?

Leah: Is there a problem to look like a Russian?!?

At the time of the observation I assumed that Leah had Russian origins, a fact that was confirmed by Ben in a following conversation. This exchange reflects the social tensions that were apparent in this class on a regular basis.

In sum, the school’s location, the students’ low socio-economic background and a school culture that does not encourage a high academic level all create a mixed atmosphere of friendliness while maintaining a clear distance between the students and the teachers. When I asked Ben about this in an interview he explained that “it is all part of the school culture. The students are friends of mine on Facebook. There is a very casual school culture.” The one limitation that Ben raised regarding his relationships with his students is the fact that Ben will not tell them who he plans to vote for, thus transmitting a message that despite his likable approach, he is not really their friend.

As will be developed in the following Discussion and Implications chapter, an explanation to this school atmosphere is the assumption that was confirmed in a conversation with Ben. In general, the students that study at the Dror School are treated in a manner that is in congruence to the way they are perceived, as belonging to a social class that feels underprivileged by society. Utilizing the coined term of *abandonment*, these students are seen by

the school teachers and administrators as expressing a genuine distrust in the political system and social surroundings that have discriminated them and their families over the years. Therefore, the rebuilding of such a trust between the students and the school as an institution is one of the Dror School's main goals. As will be presented, this goal was apparent in Ben's civics lessons as well.

Assumptions. Two fundamental assumptions stand at the base of Ben's teaching of civics. First, he assumes that an important element of citizenship is a feeling of respect toward the national entity and its institutions. Second, he sees importance in the ability of citizens to potentially participate in the social and political sphere, emphasizing discernment rather than their actual participation. He explained these two dimensions of the teaching of civics in the following manner:

The way I see it there are two circles: the first is the general circle between people.

People need to be tolerant toward one another and to understand that you can trust other people ... this touches on the basic issue of civility. The second circle is the political circle. This includes knowing about the political system in the state, believing in it and understanding that if there are problems with the system we can change it ... So there is the basic circle of how to act to other human beings and then there is the circle of the democratic regime.

Ben expressed this first assumption in an interview claiming that he thinks, "a good citizen has to feel solidarity ... they have to feel something toward the state." Therefore, it was not surprising that this idea was conveyed while teaching different topics from the civics curriculum standards. The best example is when Ben taught the philosophical term *the social*

contract. In one part of the lesson he decided to summarize the topic through the following exchange:

Ben: So what is a social contract?

Tal: It is an agreement between the state and the citizens.

Ben: This is correct; the social contract is a type of agreement.

At this point Ben turned to the blackboard and wrote this definition on the board: “an agreement between the state and the citizens.” He then turned to the class and asked “What does each side give to the other? I mean, what does the state give to the citizens and what do the citizens give to the state?” To this question Eyal answered that “the state needs to provide security and order and that the citizens give money in taxes.”

This exchange represents the specific type of relationship that Ben’s conception of CCE promotes, a relationship that is seen mainly in legal terms. As Ben mentioned, it is seen as a contract in which each side has to “give” something to the other. Interestingly, when teaching this topic, Ben did not mention other aspects that are affiliated with this term, such as the feelings of solidarity or mutual commitment between citizens.

In an interview Ben explained the second assumption that stands at the base of his teaching of civics. He mentioned that while working on his Master’s thesis he read the book “The Civic Culture” by Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba. He explained that the idea of the citizens’ potential to participate resonated with him. He said he liked the idea that not all the citizens can be active all the time, and therefore the need to emphasize the potential of each citizen to be active when they see fit. It became clear that this insight had influence on Ben’s

teaching philosophy. For example, when asked about the goals of teaching civics, Ben explained that he wants his students to:

Know about the political system in the state, believe in it and understand that if there are problems with the system we can change it. Being a citizen isn't just sitting in tents all day and constantly posting stuff on Facebook.¹³ The civic culture is the understanding that you don't need to be active all the time. But, when something bothers you, you do have a way to change it. For me, it is the potential of being active that is important.

He continued to explain that:

Some teachers want their students to be active and organize demonstrations, I don't. I want them to know about their rights, to understand how the system works and that if a red line is crossed they will know how to act and what to do.

So in fact, the basic assumptions that guide Ben in his teaching of civics is a portrayal of the good citizen as a person who phrases his relationship with the state in legal terms, emphasizing the official commitment of the citizens toward the state, and the responsibility of the state to supply security in return. In addition, he stresses the potential ability of his students to be discerning citizens, choosing when to participate and when to be active, and not necessarily participating at all times.

¹³ This is a direct reference to the social uprising that took place in Israel over the summer months of 2011, which was similar to the Occupy Wall Street movement in the U.S.A. (See: Kershner, 2011).

Goals. Naturally, these fundamental assumptions had direct influence on Ben's teaching of civics. Foremost, one of Ben's main goals was to develop within his students a feeling of respect toward the formal national institutions and symbols. For example, when asked about these goals, Ben explained that he wants:

Citizens to show respect toward the representatives in the Knesset ... they should respect the judges, the institutions, they should respect the fact that this is the only way to manage life here ... I don't want the ideal citizen to be angry toward the institutions. They should be happy with what we have. Of course we need to fix the things that can be fixed but we need to appreciate what we have here.

This point of view derives from an authentic feeling of fear that Ben expressed. This feeling of fear mainly relates to the state of indifference that characterizes the youths' relation toward the political sphere. It is exactly this fear that gave rise to this somewhat surprising confession from Ben:

To tell you the truth and this might sound bad, I am indifferent to the students saying "kill all of the Arabs" whereas I get mad when they say "all of the politicians are corrupt." Of course it is all connected, but we need to remember that larger context ... when they say "all of the politicians are corrupt" it is just a sign of their ignorance – and that is why I go mad. I think that this kind of statement touches a nerve for me because of its implications – that it isn't worth going to vote and that all of the system is worthless. I don't see a reason for it to be this way. I am afraid of a situation where someone will come with a catchy slogan and the day after everybody will believe it. That is what I am afraid of.

In relation to the current situation in Israel, and of course in connection to the context of Ben's school and students, Ben represents a view that points to apathy as one of the main dangers to Israeli democracy, even more than racism.

This leads to Ben's second main goal, that of the transmission of knowledge regarding the state's institutions and of the formal venues in which the citizen can be potentially active, if they choose to be so. In other words, it is Ben's belief that in order to create the ability of citizens to be potentially active, they need to have acquired certain essential bodies of knowledge.

A good example of the translation of this goal to the classroom setting was Ben's lesson about the political procedure of a referendum. After he explained the concept of referendum, Ben continued on to explain the advantages and disadvantages of this procedure. He wrote two lists on the board, side by side, of all of these advantages and disadvantages. Afterwards he said "after we see the advantages and the disadvantages of a referendum, we can think for ourselves if a referendum is a good thing." In other words, first Ben set a basis of foundational knowledge for his students, in this case the meaning of the term referendum and the list of its advantages and disadvantages. Only then did he move on, asking his students to formulate their own personal views on this topic.

This goal resonated with some of the students in Ben's class. For example, in another lesson, Ben taught about the philosophical terms *freedom* and *equality* and explained the inherent contradiction between them. After this explanation one student said "wait, I don't understand and I want to understand, I want to have the knowledge!" This is a sign that at least this specific student internalized Ben's goal that sees value in the holding of knowledge.

A third goal that was identified in Ben's class was the development of a feeling of commitment between the citizens and the state, and the hope that with this commitment the citizens will contribute to the national goals. Specifically in Israel, in light of the mandatory military service, Ben explained that for him:

It is not a goal that the students go to the army, but I do want them to do some kind of national service after the 12th grade. I will be disappointed if a student doesn't go to the military or to some kind of national service. The idea that there is some kind of national burden that we all need to take part in is something I believe in.

Later in the interview he added that he does not like the whole popular discourse around the issue, which he framed as "the issue of what did the state do for me?" echoing his views regarding the issue of the individual citizens' feeling of commitment to the larger political entity.

Pedagogy. These assumptions and goals yielded a pedagogy that was mainly composed of the dictation of the basic concepts and terms that were seen by Ben as essential for any citizen that lives in the state. As he himself explained in an interview "I think it is important to teach the basic concepts of citizenship." Therefore, throughout the lessons Ben emphasized the definition of key terms while writing the definitions on the board and having the students, at least those who were willing, copy them to their notebooks. On one occasion he even told the students: "I want you to be able to repeat this material even in your sleep."

The following exchange demonstrates this type of pedagogy. The topic of this specific lesson was the term 'democracy':

Ben: So what is the meaning of the word *democracy*?

Eyal: A referendum.

Ben: No, does anyone remember the meaning of the word?

Oded: Demos means many.

Arnon: It means that anyone can say whatever they want.

Ben writes down the word *democracy* on the board and asks again “what is the meaning of this word?”

Doron: It is the opposite from dictatorship

Ben: The origin of the word is from Greek. Now think - what characterizes a democratic regime?

Doron: It's not a lone leader.

Ben: So who decides?

Doron: The people!

From this exchange between Ben and his students we learn that despite the fact that the students were correct in their line of thought regarding the democratic regime, it was important for Ben to pinpoint the exact institutionalized definition of the term being taught.

Another good example of Ben's use of this type of pedagogy was observed in a lesson about the connections between the Diaspora Jews and the state of Israel. This seemed like a good lesson in which the students were highly involved – they answered Ben's questions, asked

questions of their own and some of them were even busy writing down what Ben wrote on the board in their own notebooks. In a conversation afterwards, Ben agreed that this was a good lesson due to the high level of student engagement. A description of the way in which Ben used the board throughout this lesson will provide a good illustration of the pedagogy that characterizes his lessons. In the beginning of the lesson Ben wrote the title of the lesson on top of the board:

<u>The State of Israel and the Diaspora Jews</u>
--

He then divided the board into two parts:

<u>The State of Israel and the Diaspora Jews</u>	
<u>Part 1</u> Reasons why the State of Israel has connections with the Diaspora Jews	<u>Part 2</u> Reasons why the Diaspora Jews have connections to the State of Israel

Throughout the lesson he listed the reasons under each relevant part, beginning with three reasons for part 1 and then three reasons for part 2. At the end of the lesson the board looked like this:

<u>The State of Israel and the Diaspora Jews</u>	
<u>Part 1</u>	<u>Part 2</u>
Reasons why the state of Israel has connections with the Diaspora Jews	Reasons why the Diaspora Jews have connections to the state of Israel
Reason 1: ...	Reason 1: ...
Reason 2: ...	Reason 2: ...
Reason 3: ...	Reason 3: ...

In my view, this is not just a decision about how to graphically design the board, but rather a pedagogical approach that Ben adopted based on his basic assumptions and goals. Ben's pedagogy was organized and methodical: He began by presenting the topic itself and how he was going to present it to the students. He then made sure to detail the different reasons in order. This is not to say that he did not divert to different topics as well, but he always came back to this structure of the lesson.

This approach was also apparent in the evaluation of several documents that were utilized in Ben's lessons. For example, he used newspaper articles to clarify foundational issues regarding Israeli society, such as an article about Jewish ultra-orthodox religious groups that do

not recognize Israel as a state due to religious reasons, and an article about the growing socio-economic gap between the rich and the poor in the state. It is important to point out that in both cases the articles were not critical in their nature, but rather informative. Therefore the use of such articles may be seen as a way to bring the lessons to life when transmitting these units of knowledge.

Curriculum Standards. The nation-wide curriculum standards seem to match Ben's own conceptions of CCE. As he explained:

The way I see it, the curriculum is framed in a way that if someone learns it seriously they can have the knowledge about how to act in the system, like who to go to when you have a problem, which organizations exist. So, it is not that I expect my students to go on demonstrations every Friday, but that if they want to they will know what they can do.

Ben reserves similar feelings toward the Bagrut. He explained that:

The Bagrut is an educational tool I use ... of course I have criticism about the level of the Bagrut and I would like to see it in a different format. But, I think it is part of the idea or respecting the rules of the game – some smart people sat down and decided how we teach civics toward the Bagrut and we need to respect that.

That said, Ben did voice some critique toward the official curriculum standards. For example, on one observation, after writing more definitions of key terms on the board, he told his students: "When answering questions on the Bagrut you need to write the definitions in this manner." Later, he admitted to the fact that personally he doesn't agree with the definition he

supplied to the term *welfare state* as it appears in the curriculum standards. Nevertheless, he explained to his students: “because this is the definition that appears in the text book this is the definition that you need to know.” In the same manner, in another lesson Ben told his students that “in the exam there is no place for you to express your own personal opinion. You can talk in the lessons but not in the Bagrut – there you need to show that you know what we learned in class.”

As a response to this statement one student said “in civics the only thing we need to do is memorize definitions by heart. It is all rubbish.” This remark represents one of the main challenges that Ben faced regarding the curriculum standards – the fact that there is a clear separation between civics as it appears in the curriculum and the Bagrut and the “real” civics that appears in the real world, such as the students’ own personal opinions and experiences.

The Zohar School

Overview. Whereas the Dror School may be set on one extreme of an imaginary continuum relating to the schools’ academic levels, the Zohar School is set pretty much in the middle of this continuum. This school is known to be a decent school, one of several large comprehensive schools that were created following the major school integration reform movement in the 1970’s. The school itself is located on the borderline between two large residential neighborhoods, on a main road that connects these neighborhoods to the city entrance and city center. On one side of the school is an affluent neighborhood where many academic and independent workers live. The neighborhood on the other side consists mainly of low and middle-class families. The school serves both these neighborhoods, a fact I was reminded of

when heading toward the school for the first time. In planning my trip to the Zohar School I learned that the new city-wide light rail transportation system has a stop right in front of the school entrance. The fact that the train's stop was located in this spot says something about the central place of this institution in this part of the city.

Approaching the school for the first time, I learned that it is more of a complex than a singular building. The main school building is large in size and is four floors high. It is flanked by a soccer field and a basketball court. As I got closer I was amazed by the large number of students who were heading to yet another day at school, some flowing toward the area on foot, some being dropped off by their parents and many more pouring out of the new shiny train cars that stopped at the school station. Throughout the observations, there were several occasions when I felt overwhelmed and dizzy on my way to Sarah's classroom because of the large number of students who were climbing up and down the schools steps in a hurry to get to class. I was reminded of the ways in which such large comprehensive schools were displayed in classic American movies such as "Grease" or "The Breakfast Club."

One of my first impressions of the Zohar school, which told me something about the culture of this institution, was the fact that a teacher was standing at the entrance to the school next to the security guard to make sure that the students were all wearing the mandatory school uniform – a T-shirt with the name and symbol of the school on it. During my visits to this school I observed several occasions where students were told to go home because they were not wearing this uniform, a practice that personally I have never encountered in any school in Israel. Another observation that caught me by surprise on my first visit to the school was the fact that as the bell went off to announce the beginning of the lesson, the vice principal stood at the entrance to the

teachers' lounge, raising her voice and telling the teachers that they need to get to class. It became clear that in this school both the students and the teachers were treated in a strict manner.

On my first visit I joined Sarah and together we walked up to the third floor where her classroom was located. We tried to talk while climbing the stairs but it was hard because of the commotion made by all of the students opening and closing their lockers and heading to their different classes. The classroom itself seemed like a regular classroom with no unique characteristics: about 35 students sitting at desks that faced the front of the room, where the teacher's desk was set in front of a regular-looking board. One of my first thoughts was that this resembled some of the classrooms I saw in New York City, and that this could be a classroom of this type of school anywhere in the world.

This first impression was reinforced throughout my visits and observations. I found that the school maintains a high level of discipline, which is enforced upon all, including the teachers. When asked about this atmosphere, Sarah explained that "it has to do with the size of the school. Also, it is a very heterogeneous school so our answer to that is to make sure that the framework of the school is strict." That said, Sarah expressed her own personal hesitations regarding this school policy, saying, "it is true that the school is trying to be more of a policeman and I don't always agree."

In contrast to Ben's lessons at the Dror School, Sarah makes sure that each lesson begins only after all the students in her class take out their textbooks and notebooks. At several points throughout the lessons Sarah would stop and remark when students were not concentrating. Therefore I was not surprised when, in several lessons, the entire class silently copied the material that Sarah wrote on the board, such as definitions of terms, quotes and diagrams,

directly to their notebooks. Consistent with this culture and yet another interesting comparison to the Dror school, I observed several cases in which Sarah did not allow students to enter if they were only a few minutes late to class.

This culture and atmosphere at the Zohar School is highly influenced by the mixture between the different types of students who study here. As Sarah mentioned regarding her lesson plans: “I need to remember who my audience is, if I am aiming to the stronger students or to the weaker ones.” She explained, for example, that “the stronger students bring something from their homes that give them more awareness and more confidence” while on the other hand “some of the students need to be escorted through the material so you don’t have time to touch on the other larger topics.” She added, “the questions that the weaker students ask reveal how ignorant they are about certain topics” while on the other hand “in the stronger classes the questions that the students ask are like a trampoline that enables you to touch on larger issues.” She summarizes this insight, explaining that “this doesn’t happen in the weaker classes because they don’t come with that from home.”

So this “regular” school represents what you would expect to find in any of such schools that exist across the globe: A large student-body that studies, while wearing uniforms, in a factory-like atmosphere. Some of the students are strong and are higher achievers, others encounter learning difficulties and most are somewhere in the middle. In order to maintain this large number and variety of students from different neighborhoods and backgrounds, the school culture promotes a strict set of rules and regulations that are seen as essential so that the school can run its day-to-day routine without many problems.

The implications of this atmosphere in relation to CCE is the understanding that most of the students that study at this school are perceived as citizens that may be set on the middle ground between *civic abandonment* and *civic activity* options. Most of these students belong to middle-class families that enjoy on the one hand the social benefits that the state of Israel has to offer its citizens. On the other hand, these mainly working class families do not have the time to constantly voice their own interest to the political institutions, and thus in many cases they find themselves accepting the given reality and act within its limitations. Sarah too adopted this perception and therefore it is not surprising that one of the declared goals of her lessons was that her students become more politically active. Later I will demonstrate how this goal was achieved in her civics lessons.

Assumptions. As opposed to the assumptions that guided Ben in the Dror School, Sarah's teaching of civics was based on the assumption that holding knowledge about the political institutions is not enough in order to be considered a *good citizen*. As she explained in an interview: "For me it is obvious that a good citizen needs to believe in democracy and respect the rules of the state, but that is not enough." She continued to explain that in her view the good citizen "is a person that is involved. Someone that cares. Someone who understands that the real meaning of democracy is the participation of its citizens."

Therefore, Sarah's teaching towards a more participatory conception of CCE emphasized the ability of the students to be involved in the public sphere, promoting knowledge, values and dispositions that encourage such involvement. It seems that this point of view relates to a combination of two elements that are seen as necessary: knowledge and engagement.

Sarah related to these two elements in an interview, explaining that “a good Israeli citizen is a citizen who is involved, who cares, who has an opinion and expresses that opinion, who does something in order to promote the views that he has, someone who is *there* and not disconnected.” Notice how Sarah refers to this duality of being aware of the political surroundings and being active in order to change this reality. This duality stands at the heart of her conception of CCE.

These two elements were identified in many of Sarah’s lessons. On several occasions her lessons’ concluding remarks related to the importance of holding civic knowledge and being active based on it. For example, she said to her students at the end of one lesson: “I want you all to think about what people say and what people think.” And in the conclusion of another lesson she told her students: “Open your eyes, read, see what is happening around you.” These remarks are based on the assumption that in order for the students to be active, they need to be aware of their political surroundings and have basic knowledge in order to understand these surroundings. In an interview she explained that in her lessons she:

talks about the importance of being involved as a citizen and I want them to be involved in the school as well. I want them to take responsibility in their state but also toward the person next to them.

As mentioned, the main assumption regarding Sarah’s conception of CCE is the combination of both of these elements. As she explained in another interview:

if you are a citizen that investigates and checks things, chances are that you will find things that you're not happy with and because we live in a democracy you will become active. Now being active means that you can write, sign a petition, I don't know – now with Facebook you can join a group or start a new group and also go out to large demonstrations and maybe even organize these demonstrations. It can also be another 1001 things that I am not aware of, there is so much that can be done. I want citizens that think and act based on that though. I don't care if you think different from me as long as you think and are active based on that.

Sarah translated these fundamental assumptions into the lessons themselves. For example, in one observation Sarah was talking about the members of the Knesset when one student remarked “they don't do anything.” As a response to this statement, Sarah answered “What is your statement based on? How do you know?” She then suggested that the student write a letter to a member of the Knesset and ask him what he does. Afterwards she turned to the whole class and said “I don't want you to speak using arguments that are not based on facts.” This exchange represents Sarah's assumption that holding knowledge is a crucial condition in order to be politically active.

In another interview she summarized these assumptions:

I imagine a good citizen to be one who is aware of what is happening around him, that asks questions, that expresses his views, that has something to say, something to ask, that investigates and checks things. Not just a pawn that is moved around without asking questions – that is not enough for me.

Goals. Based on these assumptions, Sarah translated these ideas into practical educational goals. The first of these goals is to have the students think about the reality in which they live. As Sarah explained in an interview:

I try to get them to think about their own place in that whole process. It's like the "Where's Waldo" books – I always try to get them to think about where they are in all of the *balagan*¹⁴ that is called the state of Israel and the politics of Israel.

This connects to a second educational goal, that of creating a feeling of affiliation between the students and the communities and state in which they live. In an interview Sarah talked about the importance of having the students "understand[ing] that they belong to a larger community and that they have responsibility to that community." As she explained in another interview "political participation and involvement needs to be based on some kind of understanding of your political surroundings and the things that happen around you."

The third goal that was identified in Sarah's lessons touches on the active citizenship aspect of her conception of CCE. She explained that:

When I think about my educational goal, I want a graduate that is involved. Now I myself am not always involved but the fact that I will create citizens that will be involved is my task.

¹⁴ A Hebrew word of Russian origin that doesn't quite translate into any other language, meaning chaos or a mess.

She repeated this goal in an additional interview, explaining its rationale:

The most basic factor is a person that is involved. Someone that cares. Someone that understands that the real meaning of democracy is the participation of the citizens. Sometimes I hear from my students sayings like “why does it even matter?” This expresses the feeling that they as students don’t have any real influence on the government and on the politics in the state. They remain passive. This is something I want to change.

Sarah repeated this notion in the lessons themselves. For example, a running catchphrase that she tended to say to her students that summarizes her approach is “be active, work and think.”

Pedagogy. In order to achieve these educational goals, numerous pedagogical strategies were identified throughout the observations of Sarah’s teaching. Foremost, somewhat surprisingly, Sarah promoted this participatory conception of CCE while teaching the civics content in a teacher-centered didactical manner, similar to the pedagogy observed in Ben’s classes at the Dror School. In an interview she explained that in fact “the actual civic participation of the students is something that I wish to see only after they leave the class.” In other words, the civics lessons are seen by her as an opportunity to plant the seeds of these participatory ideals.

This approach was also apparent in Sarah’s lessons when she taught using primary documents. In one lesson in which she taught about the idea of written constitutions, she told the students about a private initiative of an Israeli group whose goal is to create a written Israeli

constitution. She encouraged the students to read this initiative at home. In a short conversation after the lesson she told me that “now, after they have learned about the topic of constitutions they can understand such documents.” This represents the pedagogical idea of first casting a foundation of basic knowledge so that afterwards the students can deal with various forms of information and be politically active. In this case I found it interesting that Sarah didn’t bring this primary source to the lesson itself, but rather recommended that the students read it afterwards at home.

A third and prominent pedagogical strategy that was identified in Sarah’s lessons is that of holding classroom discussions. The implementation of this strategy enabled Sarah to promote all of the elements that compose her conception of CCE. Such discussions forced the students to obtain certain bodies of knowledge that are seen as crucial in order to engage in the topic being discussed. In addition, the requirement that the students be active participants in the discussion promoted their personal engagement. Over the lessons Sarah implemented several tactics in order to enhance these discussions. These included:

- Paraphrasing what the students said so that the whole class would understand. For example, in one lesson after one student finished presenting her point view, Sarah turned to the class and said “so what you meant was” and then went on rephrasing the student’s argument.
- Playing “the devil’s advocate” by posing oppositional views to what the students presented in order to challenge their own views. Regarding this tactic it is important to point out that Sarah did not expose her own personal view but rather made a point of presenting the oppositional view in any given case.

- Clarification of key terms that came up throughout the discussion. For example, on one occasion one student became confused between the terms *government* and *regime*. Sarah made sure that the student and the class as a whole understood the difference between these two terms.
- The presentation of multiple perspectives. For example, Sarah once mentioned that “there are several views on a certain issue and thus hearing all the views helps democracy.”

A fourth connected pedagogical strategy that was put to use was the discussion of current events. Referring to such events was seen foremost as a means of encouraging the students' involvement. In one lesson, Sarah related to an event from the news regarding a new bill proposal that was presented at the Knesset. After presenting this topic she said “we constantly need to be up to date in order to see what is happening.”

In addition, another use of this specific pedagogical approach was to encourage the students to be active by displaying examples in which active citizenry resulted in actual social or political change. For example, in one lesson Sarah asked the students what they think they can do in order to create social change, explaining that one option is to talk to their representatives. One student replied saying that “it is like the big protest of the summer.” Another student answered back in a cynical tone, saying “yeah, we saw how that helped.” At this point Sarah intervened, reminding the students that due to the protest the government initiated a committee to think about solutions for such social problems. In another example from a different lesson, Sarah reminded the students of the return of the kidnapped soldier Gilad Shalit, explaining that it was

“an act that had to do with the public pressure on the government. This is an important part of the democratic regime.”

A fifth pedagogical approach that was identified in Sarah’s lessons was the invitation of guest speakers to speak with the students. Although this sort of activity was not observed as a part of this study, in an interview Sarah mentioned it as a possibility for her future lessons, explaining that “I want them to meet people that as individuals changed the reality. I will bring guest speakers for that purpose.” She mentioned several names of public figures who she would like to invite, mainly people who are seen as change agents in the Israeli society.

A sixth pedagogical practice has to do with the teacher as a role model. In an interview Sarah explained that she told her students about her own personal activities, such as the fact that she herself participated in protests of summer 2011. She explained that the reason she shared her own personal experiences is due to the fact that “the students presented a cynical approach saying that the demonstrations won’t help.” Therefore it was important for her to present herself to the students as a role model in relation to the civic conception that she promotes.

In addition to these classroom pedagogical strategies, Sarah took advantage of events that occurred in the school in order to promote this participatory conception of citizenship. For example, one observation included a cancelation of the civics lesson due to a school-wide activity. Instead of heading up to the classroom, the students were told to gather in the assembly hall for a conversation with the school principal. The principal talked to the students about an event of vandalism that was found in the school the day before. He talked to them about his hope that the school feel like a home for the students and therefore he asked that they be more active when trying to keep “their home” in order.

After the conversation with the principal ended, Sarah walked up with her students to their classroom. However, she did not teach a regular civics lesson but rather continued the conversation with the students about the topic raised by the principal. She talked with them about the idea of personal responsibility and the fact that they as students need to be active and not be shy when they see such acts of vandalism.

Curriculum Standards. Sarah presented a critical stance regarding the ability to promote participatory citizenship based on just the nationwide curriculum standards and the Bagrut alone. In this manner she expressed yet another stark difference between her conceptions of CCE and those presented by Ben, who in general respected these standards. A good example of this stance was observed in a lesson that took place only a few weeks before grading the students' midyear report cards. In this lesson Sarah explained that beyond the "objective grades," such as the grades on tests, she will also give them a grade regarding their participation that will include their participation in class discussions, class work in general and their level of engagement in different activities. She explained that "learning is not just sitting in the class." This statement of course echoes Sarah's leading conception that aims to promote the students' activeness.

The Nir School

Overview. If we continue to set the three schools that participated in this study on an imaginary continuum based on academic excellence, with the Dror School set on the extreme and the Zohar School set in the middle, we can imagine the Nir School as representing the opposite extreme. Even the geographical settings of the Dror School and the Nir School seem

like photographic negatives of one another. While the Dror School is set in the busy city center, the Nir School is located in a green and quiet part of the city.

The way that leads from my neighborhood to the Nir School passes by some of Jerusalem's best-known sites – a famous museum, important government buildings and a university campus. The Nir School is located in this area of the city, not a residential neighborhood but rather an area in which several public buildings are concentrated. Known nationwide as one of the best high schools in Israel, the Nir School's locale is fitting, as it is seen by many Jerusalemites not as any other school, but as an important public institution that brings honor to the city.

While I approached the modest building that houses this institution, only the entrance level was visible. The three additional levels are built, like many other buildings in this city, on the hillside behind the school. As I entered the building I felt a sense of nobility created by the setting, the large but modest building and above all, the Nir School's famous reputation. Just after entering the building, I encountered a wall covered with portraits of Nir school graduates who over the years have won national and international recognition, including several Nobel Prizes. On a later visit to the Nir School, while hurrying to Adam's class, I noticed two students playing chess in the school's main lobby. Other students passed by and were totally indifferent to them. Leaving the school after yet another observation, walking back to my apartment, I suddenly understood why I felt a feeling of sympathy toward the Nir School. It was quite simple; more than a regular high school its atmosphere resembles a university campus.

These details signal the high-achieving academic culture of this school. This culture is present in the school's physical conditions as well. In the front of almost every classroom in this

school (including the classroom where the civics lessons I observed took place) there is a small stage on which the teacher stands. This is not common in Israeli schools and thus it instantly transmits a message of respect, and maybe fear, toward the teachers who look at the students from a small but significant distance. Even in my imagination I could not imagine seeing such a stage in the Dror or Zohar schools. In addition, I was not surprised to learn that the Nir school had several “smart” classrooms, equipped with the latest technology, which too is not at all common in a typical Israeli school. In one lesson Adam showed his students a documentary film and used the smart classroom to facilitate. The room did not resemble a regular high school classroom, but rather a large university hall. The chairs in this class were organized on multiple levels, like in an amphitheater, all facing the teacher’s table and a large state-of-the-art projection screen.

As I learned over the observations of Adam’s lessons, the Nir School is indeed a prominent example of the ways in which a school can create a culture and atmosphere of academic excellence. Experiences such as walking down the hallways and courtyards, sitting in the classrooms and in the teachers’ lounge and even buying coffee at the small cafeteria all transmitted to me a dedication to diligence, excellence and, exactly as I felt on my first visit here, a feeling of nobility.

When I asked Adam in an interview about the culture of the Nir School, he hypothesized that the main factor influencing the atmosphere of the school was the high academic level of its students. He explained:

It is very simple – it is because of the quality of students, because they are of such high quality. It is like my relationship with my wife – she grew up in a poor family so making

ends meet economically is a big issue for her. I, on the other hand, come from an established family, so I always have a safety net so I can be calm. I know that these students will do well on the Bagrut and that is my safety net here. Even if I as a teacher will fail in preparing them for the Bagrut, they will succeed. So in fact I can do whatever I want.

These first impressions were reinforced over the period of this study. In many of the lessons I observed, both Adam and his students mentioned names of important scholars and philosophers such as *Hobbes*, *Montesquieu*, *Rousseau* and *Copernicus* and used academic terminology such as *the social contract*, *neo-liberalism*, *veto right* and the term *checks and balances*, that was mentioned using the English and not Hebrew language. These were all a regular part of the vocabulary in Adam's civics lessons.

I also began to notice not only what was present but what was absent from Adam's lessons. Adam did not always supply a clear definition of the names and topics that were being discussed, but rather mentioned them as part of the ongoing discussions he led. I was personally surprised at this absence due to my own experience as a civics teacher in Jerusalem not so many years ago. Such definitions, which Adam did not even stop to consider, were a key component of the civics lessons I taught. Later, in one of the interviews, Adam explained that he knows his students read the textbook in which the basic terms are defined and explained and therefore he feels no need to repeat them in class. I started to notice that indeed most of the students in Adam's class had highlighted and marked textbooks on the desks in front of them. I saw this as an authentic confirmation of what Adam had explained to me – that the students read the relevant

materials in advance, at home. Reminded of the absence of such textbooks in Ben's class in the Dror School, and the textbooks that were in fact present but their use may be questioned in Sarah's classes in the Zohar school, the presence of highlighted textbooks in this school demonstrated my initial feelings.

This school culture has to do with the fact the most of the students that study in the Nir School are from relatively high socio-economic backgrounds. As Adam explained in an interview:

The students here are clearly from a high socio-economic class. In fact what it is that I am doing is educating the next generation of high-tech workers and government officials. I don't think that even one of my students will end up being a teacher.

This understanding reflects the fact that these students and their families are perceived by the school community, and by members of the larger Jerusalem society, as belonging to the civic *activity* option. These students are considered to be citizens that arrive to school with a clear understanding of their ability to influence the political institutions and thus be active citizens that are used to being heard.

When asked about the influences that this reality has on his students' behavior in class, Adam explained that they are all very aware of the social and political issues that come up in the civics lessons - "they all have views about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. They may not be consolidated views but they do have some opinion." In addition, he explained, even if they don't

have a strong foundation of knowledge in a certain issue, he can always send them to study the topic alone at home and be sure that they will indeed do so.

An important part of this school culture, as expressed by Adam in an interview, is the emphasis that the institution places on tests as the main mode of student evaluation. Adam explained that these tests are all knowledge-based, meaning that the main emphasis is put on rote regurgitation. He told me of the following anecdote that reflects this reality: “I once gave the students a test in which they needed to voice their own opinion, and it was hard for them. It was amazing because these are strong students. They are so obsessed with how I will evaluate them.” Another remark that expresses this point of view toward the school was raised by Adam when I asked if most of the teachers in the school are like him, to this he somewhat angrily answered “No! Most of them just teach for the tests!”

Assumptions. The main assumption that stood at the base of Adam’s teaching was described by him in an interview when he explained that he sees the *good citizen* as a citizen who “thinks in the critical sense, a citizen that doubts everything about everything. He is constantly in a state of inner conflict regarding the truths that he believes in.” It was important for Adam to point out that being critical does not have to do with a specific point of view, as he explained:

It doesn’t matter what his opinions are, but that he is critical of his own opinions. He is a person that constantly asks – Why? Why? Why? Like a little kid. I think this is an important factor for a democratic society because it is from these “whys?” that good initiatives and ideas are created. This is the only way to advance society.

Goals. Based on this fundamental assumption, I have identified two main educational goals that characterized Adam's civics lessons. The first has to do with the constant questioning of authority and the second with the existence of multiple perspectives.

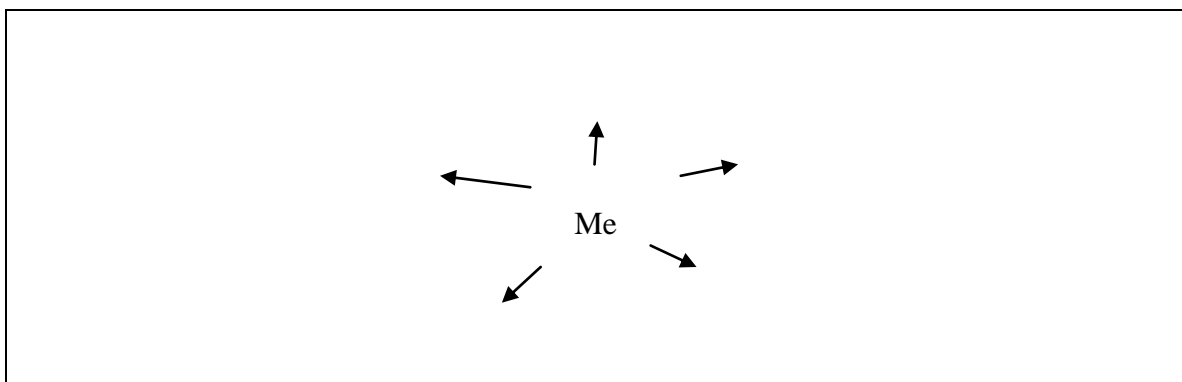
Adam explained that his main goal in teaching civics was to "go beyond the Bagrut and expand the students' awareness to civic issues in a critical manner. I want the students to be critical of their surroundings and constantly ask why things are so." The following exchange demonstrates the implementation of this goal. It occurred in a lesson in which Adam brought up the current event issue of the ongoing discussions in the Knesset of a new bill aimed at limiting the funding opportunities of NGO's that deal with human rights issues:

Shlomit: The NGO's are working against our country. But what about civic rights issues in Africa, they don't deal with that at all, they are only against Israel!

Adam: You are not dealing with the actual arguments, just with the fact that the arguments were displayed.

In one interview I confronted Adam with the question of how he would feel if the students were to aim this critical approach toward him, as the authority figure in the classroom. He answered saying that he would be happy, because his goal is to encourage the critical approach, and not specific points of view. This distinction that Adam makes between his epistemological approach and his own personal opinion is an important factor of this critical conception. Adam's goal as a civics teacher is not to promote certain views or beliefs but rather to promote a way of thinking about the views and beliefs that exist in society.

The second main goal that I identified in Adam's teaching was the presentation of multiple perspectives. At the end of one observation, Adam explained that he wants his students to be critical in the sense that they will be aware of the fact that there are several solutions for the different social and political problems in Israel. He continued saying that he sees his role as a civics teacher to show his students that other options do exist, even if, at the end of the day, they remain with their original opinions. Maybe as a result of our short conversation, Adam displayed this logic to his students in the next lesson, drawing the following illustration on the board:



He then explained to his students that citizens have to choose between different options, and that those are the lines around the word "me." He explained that he sees his role as a civics teacher is to add more of these lines of potential views and actions around the students' heads. He added that he didn't mind if a student decides at the end to stay with the original option, or the same line, but it is important for him that they are exposed to the potential different options.

Adam's personal philosophy was translated into the classroom activities in several occasions throughout the lessons I observed. In one lesson, Adam planned a class discussion. In

his opening explanation he told his students that he expected them to have their voices heard because only in this manner will the other students in the class be exposed to several points of view. Therefore, he continued, raising his voice and saying: “never apply self-censorship in my class! Having your different views heard is the purpose of our civics lessons.”

Pedagogy. These assumptions and educational goals were translated into Adam’s pedagogy when teaching the civics content. He utilized several pedagogical strategies in a manner that resembled Sarah’s classes in the Zohar School. These included: the teaching of the formal curriculum, leading classroom discussions, igniting philosophical debates, evaluation of primary documents, the use of film, references to current events and a field trip.

Good examples of the way in which Adam promoted such critical ideals while teaching the civics content was observed in a lesson about voting systems that centered around the difference between the *proportional representation* method and the *majoritarian* one. After Adam explained that the *proportional representation* method results in the need of a coalition government, one student remarked “so it is like corruption?” to which Adam answered “yes, that is exactly what it is, political corruption.” On the other hand, after explaining the *majoritarian* voting method one student remarked “so there is a problem with this voting system,” to which Adam answered “there is a big problem, the basic idea of the sovereignty of the people is damaged.” In both of these cases, Adam did not show his preferences regarding which voting method he values, but rather showed the students that there is a need to think about the implications of both methods. Towards the end of this lesson one student remarked that if this is so, in fact, neither of the voting methods is fully democratic. This conclusion is a good example of the critical stance that Adam wished to develop within his students.

An important aspect that relates to Adam's conception regarding the teaching of the civics content is the shattering of myths. It was clear that it was important for him that his students question even the most foundational facts. For example, after detailing the historical *Status Quo Agreement* between the Israeli secular government and the Jewish ultra-orthodox population, Adam told his students that it is important for him to "shatter the common myth" about this compromise. After this he supplied alternative historical explanations for this agreement, explanations that are less known in the popular discourse of this topic.

The most common pedagogical method that was used in Adam's class was the holding of classroom discussions. It is important to point out that in comparison with Sarah, who also implemented this pedagogical tool, Adam's discussions were aimed at developing the students' critical point of view, and not their ability to be politically active. As Adam explained regarding the use of discussions in his classes: "This is how to develop criticism. Each issue has several points of view."

Regarding the role of the teacher when leading such a critical discussion, Adam constantly utilized what I identified above as the method of "playing devil's advocate." No matter what views were brought up by the students, just like Sarah, Adam made a point of countering that view and thus showing the students the plurality of ideas. As he explained in an interview regarding this method: "I want to find the counterargument to every idea, even if personally I don't agree. It is important for me that other opinions will be heard at all times." He added that thinking about these different options can be painful at times and therefore he described this pedagogical method as "punching the students in the stomach," referring to the exposure to views that in some cases are difficult to accept.

Another pedagogical approach that, when compared to the other two settings, was unique to Adam's class, was the use of film. In one lesson Adam showed a documentary about corruption in the activities of the Israeli Security Agency, known as the *Shin Bet*. Among other accusations, the film describes how the president of the state of Israel pardoned several security officers before holding a public trial. In response to this, Adam explained to his students that:

In fact, these officers were above the law. This is the slippery slope that people always talk about, in fact we don't know if there are another thousand of such cases that are happening right now and we as citizens don't know about it.

This remark relates to the general goal of shattering myths, in this case questioning the trustworthiness of the Israeli security forces. In this manner Adam promoted a point of view that forces citizens to constantly be wary of the government.

This critical point of view was observed in yet another pedagogical approach implemented by Adam – the discussion of current events. After a student presented his point of view regarding an item from that day's news, Adam asked him "where did you obtain the knowledge that influenced your personal view?" to this the student simply answered "from the news." A second student answered back to this remark saying "But Bibi¹⁵ rules the news."

On one occasion I accompanied Adam's class to a daylong field trip to the Knesset and to the Israeli Supreme Court. Although the other two teachers that took part of this study mentioned that they too went on similar field trips in the past years, this was the only trip that took place in

¹⁵ The well-known nickname of the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

the time of this study. It is important to point out that this trip was not guided by Adam but rather by a professional guide appointed by the Israeli Civics and Democracy Educational Centers, which are part of the Ministry of Education. Throughout the day it was clear that Adam did not approve of the guidance his class received. He told me in a conversation afterwards that he felt that the guidance was very judicial and technical and it did not touch on what he sees as the real cultural issues of Israeli democracy. Interestingly, the guide revealed at one point that she was indeed a law student.

The guided tour to these two institutions was very formal, concentrating mainly on procedural knowledge such as the official roles of the institutions, the idea of separation of power and the different types of laws and regulations that exist in Israel. The students expressed their boredom during these explanations, saying that they would “prefer to go to sleep.” The only part of the tour that was exciting for the students was when they visited one of the Knesset committees during a live discussion. The students seemed thrilled to recognize politicians they usually saw on television. In general it seemed like the guide focused on general anecdotes as well as cheap gimmicks in order to get the students engaged. For example, while touring the Supreme Court the guide had two students dress up in lawyer’s gowns. The students didn’t understand why they needed to wear the gowns at all and one of them took it off after a few minutes.

Both Adam and his students expressed a critical conception of CCE throughout this tour. The following are a few examples: While touring the Knesset the students were given a 20 minute break for lunch at the local cafeteria. The students were told in advance not to bring food from home for the day because it is not permitted to enter the building. One student complained

about this to Adam saying that in fact they were a captured audience, forced to buy food in the Knesset cafeteria. In protest to this policy and with the encouragement of Adam, this student decided to fast throughout the whole day. It is important to state that this student did not make his decision public to all the other students, but rather told Adam about it quietly. Nevertheless, this is an example of the student's ability to think critically about the undercurrent forces that influenced this particular reality and act based on these insights. Such examples of value-driven student action that was based on a true understanding of the given reality was not observed in the other two schools whatsoever.

Later in the day, the guide stopped in the entrance hall to the Supreme Court chambers where five computer screens show which discussions are planned for that day. After an explanation by the guide, the students asked her why the texts were only in Hebrew and not in Arabic which, as they found themselves explaining to her, is defined as one of Israel's official languages. This is an example of the constant questioning of reality expressed by the students themselves.

Curriculum Standards. I was not surprised to learn that Adam sees tests in general and the Bagrut in particular with a very critical eye. As mentioned above, throughout the observations and interviews Adam expressed his anger toward the Bagrut, claiming that “the writers of the Bagrut like the narrow-judicial approach” and that the civics Bagrut “doesn't really ask questions about civics.” Due to these views it was not surprising that Adam put a lot of effort in avoiding the traditional role of the teacher in preparing the students toward the Bagrut. He said that he sees this teaching as mechanical teaching, whereas his goal is to go beyond the Bagrut and expand the students' awareness to civic issues in a critical manner. He explained that he

wants the students to be critical of their surroundings and constantly ask why things are so. Therefore he expressed his feeling that “teaching toward the test misses the whole point.”

This critical approach was identified in part in some of the exams that Adam composed. For example, the following question that appeared on one of his exams:

Recently the Ministry of Education ordered that teachers are not allowed to have any connections with their students on social networks such as Facebook ... Many teachers expressed their anger toward this order, saying that although they will respect it, this order does not have any moral justification.

Question 1 – Explain the nature of the rule of law that these teachers claim do not exist in this instruction.

This is an example of Adam’s critical conception of CCE in the sense that it confronts the students with the discrepancy between the formal aspect of democracy and its moral justifications, while presenting the Ministry of Education in a critical light.

In summary, these findings clarify the notion that each one of these three cases reflects the promotion of very different civic ideals, influenced mainly by the students’ social background. The students that study at the Dror School did not understand or believe in their ability to influence their social and political surroundings, and thus their main alternative was to become citizens that are not engaged in any manner about such public issues, a mode of citizenship coined by Parker (2005) as idiotic. Students at the Zohar School, on the other hand,

felt that they can benefit from their membership in the public sphere, but were cynical regarding their ability to actually influence it. Therefore, they developed a consumer attitude toward their citizenship, an attitude that was mainly characterized by their will to get as much as they can from the system, without actually changing it. In contrast, most of the students that studied at the Nir School held a firm belief regarding their ability to be active citizens and change the existing political system. In order to further develop these ideas, in the following section I will display a typology of the CCE process, influenced by these findings. In the Discussions and Implication chapter I will explain how these different orientations, regarding the very essence of what it means to be a democratic Israeli citizen, influenced the nature of the CCE process as enacted in each case, while questioning the ways in which this reality reinforces social inequalities.

A Typology of Citizenship and Civic Education

As an answer to the central research question presented in the Introduction, these findings reveal the complex reality regarding the manifestation of conceptions of CCE in the three classrooms that stood at the heart of this study. These findings clearly show that such conceptions influenced the different components of these lessons including both the general goals, pedagogies and evaluation methods as well as the knowledge, values and dispositions that were advanced. An important aspect of this finding is the range of conceptions that were identified. Despite the commonality of the three classes, the conceptions of CCE that were promoted varied widely. This reality reveals the existence of a CCE gap, illuminating the ways in which both the schools'

academic levels as well as the socio-economic status of student bodies influence the very essence of the teaching of civics in these three cases.

As described in the previous Methodology chapter, these schools were originally chosen for this study due to their commonality: they are located in the western Jewish part of the city of Jerusalem, almost within walking distance of one another; the three teachers earned their Master's degrees from the same academic program; the student population belonged to the same educational track of the Jewish secular state schools; and in all three cases the lessons were aimed as preparation toward the same nationwide Bagrut exam.

The main explanation I can offer for this gap between these three cases, and the striking differences in the enactment of these civics lessons, is the constant interactions between both educational and social factors that represented the different conceptions of CCE.¹⁶ First, the teachers held clear ideological world-views that geared their practice. Second, the civics curriculum standards, as presented in the literature review, expressed an amalgamation of different conceptions. Third, the school culture and atmosphere promoted certain elements of citizenship, even if it was not done intentionally. And finally, the students held their own world-views that also influenced these lessons.

In congruence with the notion of the teacher as a curricular-instructional gatekeeper (Thornton, 1991) the teachers were identified as key figures whose task was to navigate the lessons between these different influencing factors. It is exactly this central role of the civics teachers that framed the conceptions of CCE that were promoted throughout the lessons.

¹⁶ See Figure 2: Findings of conception of CCE in the classrooms studied.

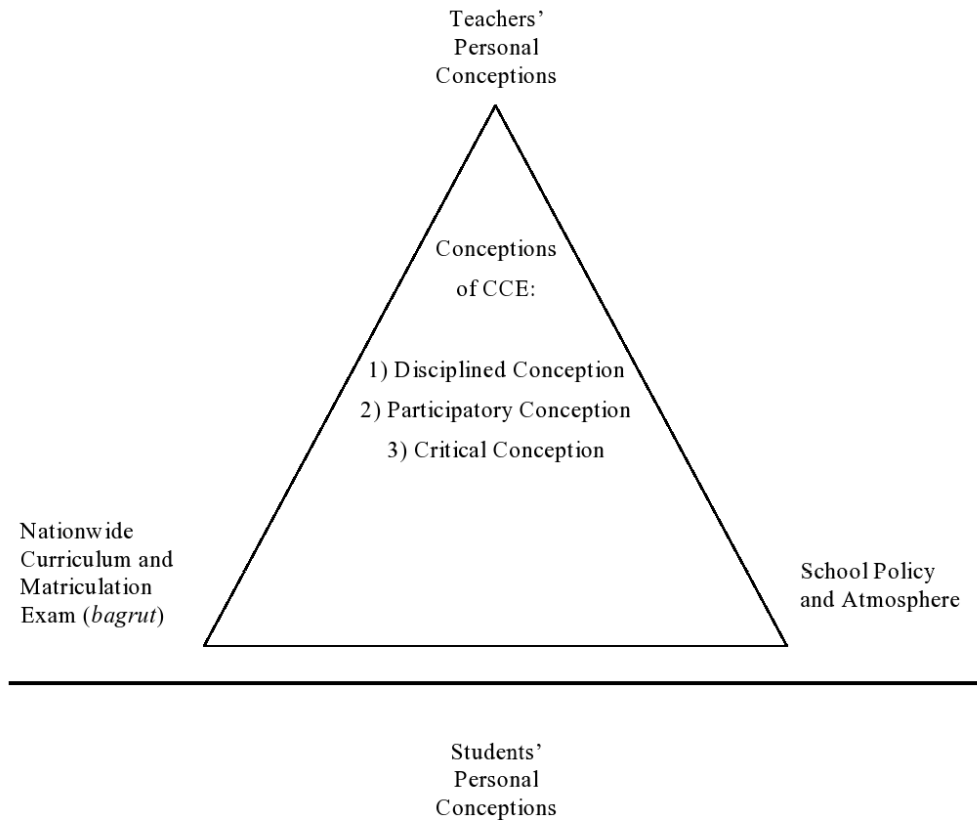
Therefore the importance of understanding the ways in which these teachers perceived their students' civic orientation. As presented above, these perceptions mainly led to the teaching of a conceptions of CCE that were seen by the teachers as conceptions that fit their students civic status. Whereas taking this aspect of the teaching civics into consideration by the teachers may be admirable, as shown, in numerous cases it also has negative outcomes since it reduces the teaching to certain aspects of CCE alone. Thus the conversations and activities about citizenship that develop in the classrooms remain limited.

The illumination of the influences of such factors led me to the conclusion that the teaching of civics should be examined and understood as a social-curricular issue. In each of these three cases above not one conception of CCE was solely dominant. On the contrary, in all cases I identified an amalgamation of different conceptions of CCE that existed side by side. In some cases this mixture between the different conceptions was harmonious, whereas in others this reality created a situation in which the different conceptions contradicted one another. In most cases these interactions were not a result of an individual factor, such as the teachers presenting multiple views on their own. Rather, these interactions had to do with the meeting point between different factors such as the teachers and the curriculum, the teachers and the students and the teachers and the school culture. These junctures proved to be crucial factors determining the very essence of the CCE process that took place in these three schools.¹⁷

¹⁷ In the following Discussion and Implications chapter several examples of this will be presented and discussed.

Figure 2 - Conceptions of Citizenship and Civic Education

Found in the Classrooms Studied



In an attempt to bring some clarity to this convoluted reality, I offer a typology of CCE that is based on the identification of the different conceptions of CCE that took part in this educational process in all three cases. I will present the different conceptions of CCE as ideal types, based on the methodological insights of Weber (1949) as presented in the Methodology chapter.

Although such typologies do exist in the literature, as described in the Literature Review chapter, this following typology is unique in the sense that it is descriptive and based on the

holistic educational experiences that were observed as part of this study. This is in contrast to more normative typologies of CCE that were composed based mainly on educational aspirations and goals alone. In other words, whereas several typologies describe the starting point of the educational process, this typology attempts to capture the complexity of the CCE process while relating not only to the initial aspirations, but also to the ways in which these aspirations and the general CCE process is influenced by the contextual factors as well.

Ideal Types of Conceptions of Citizenship and Civic Education. In this section I will present three ideal types that reflect the different conceptions of CCE as identified in this study. Of course, in addition to the three conceptions of CCE that were identified in these specific cases, other conceptions of CCE exist, such as the patriotic and the diversity conceptions that were absent from this study.¹⁸ The ideal types that were identified in this study include: (1) a disciplined conception; (2) a participatory conception; and (3) a critical conception. The construction of these ideal types was based on the empirical data obtained from this study as it resonated with the academic theoretical discourse in the fields of social studies education and political science. As mentioned, this methodological approach was influenced by the notion of ideal types presented by one of the founders of the field of social sciences, Max Weber. As will be presented in the following Discussion and Implications chapter, I found these ideal types helpful when trying to better understand the connections between the teaching of civics in these three cases and the larger social contexts and implications.

The offered three ideal types of conceptions of CCE vary due to the different ontological and epistemological conceptions of citizenship and education that influence the civic education

¹⁸ For more on this see: Cohen (2010).

process. Therefore, the following presentation will detail both the foundational assumptions that stand at the base of each conception regarding the question of good citizenship, as well as the translation of these ideals to educational practices while interacting with the complexity of the social reality. In this sense, these presentations adjoin the detailed descriptions presented above.

It is important to point out that the three ideal types of conceptions of CCE that I identified are similar to the ideal types presented by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) as described in the literature review, which includes what they identified as a personally responsible conception, a participatory conception and a justice-oriented one. In this sense, the findings of this study reinforce their proposed typology and contribute to its validity. Nevertheless, in contrast, while composing this new typology I acknowledged the fact that it reflects a certain social and political reality. Therefore, as already mentioned, I recognize additional conceptions of CCE that were simply not present in this specific study.

The composition of such a typology, while relating to the entire educational experience and not just to the initial aspirations and goals, as well as understanding the limitations of such a typology that is bounded in a specific context, present the use of such typologies in a new light. In this manner I question the exhaustiveness of the typologies of CCE that already exist in the literature while offering a more comprehensive and modest approach to this method of research.

Herein, a detailed illustration of the conceptions of CCE will be introduced, as well as the main critiques that have been aimed toward each one. First, for clarification purposes, the educational end goal of each conception is as follows:

- 1) Disciplined Civic Education – the student will hold the essential skills needed in order to potentially take part in the official procedural political processes

- 2) Participatory Civic Education – the student will be an aware and active citizen thriving to enhance the social and political reality
- 3) Critical Civic Education – the student will constantly question the social and political reality and act in order to fix social injustices

Disciplined Civic Education. The supporters of this conception of CCE tend to see citizenship in the democratic state in terms of a legal contract between the state and the individual citizen, following the thin and procedural model of citizenship. Therefore, the two main assumptions that stand at the base of this conception of civic education are that: (1) the good citizen should respect the national entity and the political institutions; and (2) the good citizen should be able to potentially participate in the social and political processes. These assumptions are influenced by the philosophical stance that society is composed of individuals, and thus civic education should cultivate the role that the individual takes in the public sphere (Nie et al., 1996).

In order to develop this role, supporters of this conception stress the required intellectual and practical tools necessary for life in a democratic state (Lawry, Laurison, & VanAntwerpen, 2006). Emphasis is put on the teaching of procedural knowledge, such as understanding the voting process or the official venues necessary to connect with elected representatives, as well as on developing values related to the individual's personal behavior, such as independence and personal responsibility. The aspiration of this approach is that such independent and responsible citizens will be willing to contribute to the state's national goals (Ben Porath, 2007).

These goals yield a pedagogical approach that emphasizes the acquaintance of the students with basic political concepts and terms. For this purpose the teachers will mainly dictate the meanings of these foundational conceptual building blocks and use primary sources in order to clarify them. The assumption is that such an approach will develop the students' feeling of respect toward the national entity and political institutions. Supporters of this conception will also support a mandatory nationwide curriculum that includes the teaching of such terms and concepts. Thus, the evaluation process will be mainly composed of the ability of the students to memorize these key foundational elements.

A good illustration of this conception was observed in one of Ben's lessons in the Dror School, in which he discussed the mechanism of a national referendum. At one point in the lesson Ben posed the following question to his students:

Ben: So what are the advantages of a referendum?

Omer: In a referendum they ask me!

Amit: And that is a real democracy!

From this short exchange we learn about how the term *democracy* is framed in this regard. The "real democracy" is a mere procedure in which the citizens are asked questions directly, through a set institutionalized mechanism. This perception of citizenship resonates with my overall impression of Ben's educational approach – teaching his students how to be fair and equal players in the democratic game.

Two aspects of this conception of civic education are mainly criticized. First, some scholars argue that the emphasis on procedural knowledge alone is not satisfactory in the complex reality of the 21st century. For example, Barber (2004) stresses the importance of cultivating active participatory citizens who hold various civic responsibilities. This participation should be rooted in a strong value basis that acknowledges this need to be active citizens. Therefore, he will claim that the teaching of the procedural aspect of citizenship alone is simply not satisfactory. In addition, scholars such as Kymlicka and Norman (1994) argue that any debate regarding citizenship must relate to the social and cultural plurality of citizenship that characterizes our times. The emphasis of this disciplined conception on the individual citizen, they will argue, is simply irrelevant for our current age.

Participatory Civic Education. The model of citizenship that stands at the base of this conception of CCE is the active model of citizenship that encourages citizens who are aware of the social and political surroundings to act in order to enhance both (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). Therefore, based on this conception, citizenship in a democratic state may be seen as an endeavor shared by all of the citizens who have an active role in shaping the state. The main assumptions of this model see the good citizen as an active member of society (Barber, 2004) whose actions are rooted in a strong understanding of how the political processes take place (Parker, 2008).

In order to develop this active role of the citizens, the supporters of this conception of civic education promote the intellectual knowledge and normative values regarding the procedures and actions in which a citizen can be active. Based on this conception, it is this type

of knowledge and these values that will develop citizens who will be willing to be involved and act in order to improve life in the state.

Numerous pedagogical practices are used to advance these goals. Beyond the dictation of foundational knowledge and the use of primary sources, supporters of this conception will also lead classroom discussions, discuss current events and invite guest speakers all in the purpose of developing the students' ability and desire to be politically active. In addition, the general behavior of the teacher and the culture of the school are seen as further educational means to promote this goal.

Supporters of this conception of civic education will accept a nationwide curriculum, as long as this curriculum includes elements of such active citizenry. In the same manner, the evaluation process based on this conception will include, in addition to the memorization of foundational knowledge, an examination of the students' ability to be active citizens, evaluating for example their ability to participate in a lively discussion.

A good example of the translation of this conception of civic education to the classroom setting was observed in one of Sarah's lessons in the Zohar School. This lesson, which was dedicated to the topic of the Israeli uncoded constitution, was divided into two parts. In the first part Sarah transmitted knowledge regarding this issue while dictating definitions and writing the material on the board for the students to copy to their notebooks. In the second part of the lesson Sarah shifted to a different mode, in which she was interested in hearing the students' thoughts and remarks regarding what they learned in the first part of the lesson. Thus she created a combination between the transmission of foundational knowledge in a didactical manner in the first part of the lesson, and creating the opportunity and encouraging the students' active

participation through a classroom discussion in the second part. In this sense this conception may be seen as a burdensome task that the citizens must commit to only after learning the foundational rules of exactly how to act in such a reality.

The main criticism that is aimed against this conception of CCE is that it encourages an unrealistic reality. The main claim is that in order for the political system to function it cannot answer to the demands raised by constantly active citizens (Almond & Verba, 1963). Therefore, such critics will claim, the emphasis should be put on the potential ability of citizens to be active in cases when they see fit, as opposed to encouraging the citizens to be constantly active.

Critical Civic Education. This conception of CCE is rooted in the assumption that the world may be portrayed as a battleground between social forces, where the dominant hegemonic powers work in both exposed and hidden ways in order to oppress the weaker players. Thus, the supporters of this conception see the good citizen as a person who is constantly in a mode of doubt regarding the social and political “truths” that influence society (Kincheloe, 2007).

Therefore, the role of CCE is seen as a means of promoting social justice and democracy by empowering the students and cultivating their intellect. For example, multiple points of view will be presented to the students in order to promote the idea that knowledge is subjective and relativistic. Being critical will be promoted both as a set of skills and as a value that should be cherished (Apple, 1993).

In order to achieve these educational goals, the supporters of this conception will use multiple strategies such as leading class discussions, a discussion of current events and the use of different art forms such as literature, music and film as venues to expose the students to such multiple truths. In addition, this conception will encourage the students to be critical toward the

official curriculum and other primary sources, thus developing each student's personal ability to think critically. Needless to say, this conception does not support a nationwide curriculum due to the assumption that such a curriculum is itself part of the social control mechanisms. In the same manner, the evaluation of this educational process will not be concerned with the memorization of facts but rather with the students demonstrating an ability to be critical.

One example of this critical conception of CCE was expressed by Adam in the Nir School, who in an interview told me about an activity he led with his students regarding mass media. In class they made a scale of all the media outlets that exist in Israel, discussing where they stand on the left-right continuum regarding prominent political issues. He then had his students watch excerpts from different news reports and asked that they identify the political assumptions that stand at the base of these reports, based on the continuum they constructed earlier. In this manner Adam presented the main role of this conception, that of forcefully shattering elemental truths that exist in society.

One critique of this conception of civic education is that its utopian aspiration to reform society is simply unpractical. A good example is Ellsworth's (1994) description of her ongoing frustration while attempting to implement this conception in a university-level teacher preparation course. In addition, the lack of a solid foundation of knowledge to be shared by all citizens is seen as a true obstacle in this regard (Ravitch, 1988). Another critique is that supporters of this conception are naturally more arrogant in their nature. For example, these teachers would enforce their critical stance even in cases when the students are reluctant to adopt such an approach.

We can further understand these three ideal types of conceptions of CCE by comparing them to one another in a systematic manner.¹⁹ Such a comparison reveals that the general role of education and the specific goals of CCE vary among these three different conceptions. Both the disciplined conception and the participatory conception put emphasis on the process of the transmission of knowledge. Nevertheless, the disciplined conception sees this transmission of knowledge as its main goal, whereas the participatory conception sees this as a means toward the larger goal of encouraging civic activity. In this regard it is interesting to examine the critical conception, which treats knowledge in a suspicious light due to its assumption that knowledge itself is relativistic. In the same manner, both the disciplined and participatory conceptions aim to develop politically active citizens. The main difference between them is that the disciplined conception emphasizes the potential to be active whereas the participatory conception encourages a constant mode of action. The critical conception also aims to promote active citizens, as long as such activity is critical in its nature. These distinct differences between the different conceptions contribute to our understanding of the complexity of this topic.

It is important to remember that the descriptions of the three conceptions of CCE that emerged from this specific study did not appear in the reality of the classrooms clearly without overlap. Rather, the different conceptions related to one another in different forms, ranging from harmonious to discordant. Thus, as mentioned in the previous Methodology chapter, the advantages of using such ideal types as an analytical device. For example, as carried out in this study, one may utilize these three conceptions in order to gain a better understanding of the characteristics of the CCE process at a given place and time. A comparison of the three

¹⁹ See Table 2 - A comparison of the three conceptions of CCE.

conceptions may reveal that one conception is emphasized more than the others, thus determining the character of CCE in that given case. On the other hand, one may find that different components of the different conceptions exist parallel to one another, a reality that may result in unproductive contradictions. An additional avenue of research may be the comparison between different national and cross-national settings. In this manner, the influence of different factors on a dominant conception may be compared and evaluated. In the same manner, future policy may be determined based on the preference of one desired conception. Furthermore, these conceptions may be of use when trying to attain a better understanding of the ways in which CCE plans are implemented in the classrooms.

Table 2: A Comparison of the Three Conceptions of CCE

	Disciplined Conception	Participatory Conception	Critical Conception
Model of Citizenship	Thin, Procedural	Enlightened political engagement	Critical
Assumptions regarding the good citizen	<p>The good citizen should respect the national entity and the political institutions</p> <p>The good citizen should be able to potentially participate in the social and political processes</p>	<p>The good citizen should be an active member of society and the state</p> <p>The good citizen's actions should be rooted in well-based knowledge</p>	The good citizen should constantly doubt the social and critical reality and question the social and political truths
Citizenship "Image"	Citizenship as a legal contract	Citizenship as a shared endeavor	Citizenship as a power struggle
Goals – Knowledge	The student will gain the essential foundational knowledge needed in order to participate in the official political procedures	The students will gain the essential knowledge regarding the social and political spheres needed for him to be an active citizen	The student will be exposed to multiple perspectives of the truth
Goals – Values	The student will develop a feeling of respect toward the national entity and the political institutions	The student will feel that he has the ability to influence public issues	The student will develop a critical stance of constantly questioning authority
Goals – Dispositions	The student will potentially contribute to the national goals	The student will act and be involved in order to improve society and the state	The student will develop and implement critical thinking skills
Pedagogy	<p>Dictation of the basic political concepts and terms</p> <p>Use of primary sources in order to clarify key terms and concepts</p>	<p>Dictation of knowledge essential in order to be active</p> <p>Use of primary sources in order to clarify key terms and concepts</p> <p>Classroom discussions</p>	<p>A critical examination of the formal curriculum (shattering of myths)</p> <p>Classroom discussions</p> <p>Use of primary sources in order to expose the students to multiple perspectives</p>

		<p>Discussion of current events</p> <p>Guest speakers</p> <p>The teacher as a role model</p> <p>Relation to school events and extra-curricular activities</p>	<p>Discussion of current events</p> <p>Use of several arts forms (movies, books)</p>
Nationwide Curriculum	A nationwide mandatory curriculum that establishes the necessary foundational knowledge	A nationwide mandatory curriculum that establishes foundational knowledge and promotes active participation	Critical of a nationwide curriculum that represents hegemonic powers
Evaluation	Students' ability to memorize key terms and concepts	<p>Students' ability to memorize key terms and concepts</p> <p>Students ability to present clear arguments that are based on the foundational knowledge</p>	Students' ability to be critical
Criticism	<p>The procedural emphasis is not satisfactory</p> <p>The individualistic emphasis is irrelevant for our current age</p>	Constant political activity is unrealistic	<p>Not based on solid knowledge</p> <p>An arrogant approach that is disconnected from reality</p>

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I presented the main findings that were obtained as a result of this study in an attempt to answer the research questions presented in the Introduction chapter. These findings reveal the reality of the teaching of civics in three Jerusalem classrooms, a reality that may be

characterized mainly by the clear differences between the enactments of the civics subject matter across the three cases. The construction of the three ideal types of CCE based on these findings helps emphasize the stark disparities that exist, thus contributing to the theoretical debate regarding the topic of the CCE gap, specifically regarding the ways in which the contextual factors influence the conceptions of CCE being promoted. In the following concluding chapter of this study, I will demonstrate the use of these ideal types as an analytical tool in relation to this gap. I will evaluate these contextual considerations that, in the realm of this specific study, were seen as an important factor that influenced this reality. In addition, I will present some practical implications, such as a model of the CCE process, in an attempt to offer solutions to this situation.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The main findings of this study as presented in the previous chapter offer a picture that reflects a certain reality of the teaching of civics in Israel today. This specific reality is mainly characterized by a true disparity regarding the very essence of the type of citizenship that is promoted as part of the CCE process as represented in the three cases. As documented, three different conceptions of CCE were enacted: whereas Ben at the Dror School promoted a disciplined conception of citizenship, Sarah at the Zohar School attempted to develop within her students a participatory conception of citizenship and Adam at the Nir School mainly advanced a critical conception. Of course these findings were not mutually exclusive, and traces of each of the three types were to be found in all three settings. Nevertheless, these types were dominant in each case.

The existence of this variance in the three settings, which are similar in their characteristics, is a phenomenon that demands further exploration. These findings reinforce and expand the scope of the existing literature regarding the existence of a civic achievement gap, as presented in the Review of the Literature and Theoretical Framework chapter. In this regard, the importance of these findings are twofold: first, the fact that such a gap exists not only regarding the exposure of the students to different pedagogical experiences but rather regarding the very conception of CCE being promoted; and second, the fact that such a gap exists in an identical educational track.

In the next chapter I will discuss these findings while conducting a cross-case analysis. First, I will offer an explanation for this phenomenon that attempts to move beyond explaining this civic achievement gap based on the differences between the schools' population and academic level alone. By illuminating the interactions between the different conceptions of CCE as well as the teachers' own understanding of their interactions within the specific context in which they teach, I will present this understanding as a key element that must be considered while relating this topic to the theoretical educational issue of teacher awareness and self reflection (Crocco & Libresco, 2007; Gaudelli, 2005; Newmann et al., 2000; Sherin & Van Es, 2005; Van Es & Sherin, 2002). I will explain this element with the use of the ideal types of CCE that have emerged from this study and as presented in the previous chapter, illuminating the relations between the educational practice and the larger social context. In this manner I will also demonstrate the use of such ideal types as an important analytical tool.²⁰ It is important to mention that in order to demonstrate these notions and to better establish theoretical conclusions that are data driven, in the following chapter I will supply even more examples of findings obtained from the study of the classrooms.

Afterwards, I will offer some practical implications that emerge from these findings and discussion, relevant for teachers, practitioners, scholars and researchers involved in this field. These implications include a new theoretical model of the CCE process as well as a list of pedagogical strategies that of course are related to the conceptions of CCE.

²⁰ As mentioned previously in the methodology chapter, the use of these ideal types was not carried out in the most traditional manner as recommended for example by Weber (1959), but rather in congruence with elements of the grounded theory and case study methodologies.

Cross-case Analysis

Interactions Between the Different Conceptions of CCE. As mentioned, despite the identification of a dominant conception of CCE in each one of the three classes in which this study took place, it is important to remember in all cases I identified an amalgamation of different conceptions of CCE that existed side by side. In some cases this mixture between the different conceptions was harmonious whereas in others it created a situation in which the conceptions contradicted one another. This confusing state of affairs may be interpreted as what Dewey (1927) referred to as “the great bad.” Dewey warned of “the mixing of things which need to be kept distinct” (p. 83). This “great bad” occurs in CCE education when the different conceptions of CCE are translated into different educational practices, incompatible with one another at best, and contradictory at worst. This situation is similar to what Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) identified regarding the teaching of the social studies in the U.S.A., which they viewed as a “seamless web of confusion” that suffered from an “identity crisis” (p. 10).

In the following section I will present these points of interactions between the different conceptions of CCE. In most cases they were not a result of an individual factor, such as the teachers presenting multiple views on their own. Rather, they had to do with the meeting point between different factors such as the teachers and the curriculum, the teachers and the students and the teachers and the school culture.

Teacher-Curriculum Interactions. Examining the ways in which each one of the three teachers related to the nationwide civics curriculum standards, I found that they interpreted the curriculum standards based on their own personal conception of CCE, thus creating an

interaction between their own thoughts and the conceptions that were presented in the curriculum itself.

In this manner, Adam saw the curriculum with a very critical eye. A good example of this view is his response after teaching a lesson about the citizens of Israel and the Diaspora Jews. In a conversation after the lesson he explained that:

This topic is a new topic that was added this past year, they added half a page to the curriculum and that is it. And you know what – it is all bullshit. There are diagrams and stuff but it is like the question of the chicken and the egg – the students see that I am not interested in teaching this topic and then they aren't interested. I told them that sometimes we need to learn topics for the Bagrut that aren't all philosophical like we are used to. I told them that this is the situation with this new topic.

Similarly, he remarked saying that “the Bagrut is a real burden.” Adam claimed that the Bagrut “makes the whole learning process sterile because it concentrates on the procedural aspect of democracy alone. It is all phrased in a legal language that is tasteless. The questions are all mechanical and they do not encourage thinking.” He summarized his criticism saying that “you don't learn democratic values if you only study for the Bagrut.” As a way to bypass this obstacle, Adam explained that he never teaches based on the curriculum alone, explaining that “the material is very dry so I take it in other directions, directions that I want.” The following quote best represents his point of view regarding his interaction with the curriculum:

When I close the door of the classroom behind me I am the teacher and I decide. You can give me *Mein Kampf* and I will teach it my way. All the attempts to create indoctrination

will never work. You can teach the Israeli Declaration of Independence as a nationalistic document or as a multicultural document. It is the same text but the interpretation is different. All these attempts to implement a top-to-bottom curriculum ignore one important factor – the personality of the teacher.

Ben represents a different approach regarding his interactions with the curriculum. As he cynically mentioned in an interview: “I have a feeling that I am one of the only teachers that actually respects the national curriculum.” He explained that he uses the curriculum as a framework while making sure that he adds other aspects to his teaching, such as the showing of movies. Based on the disciplined conception of CCE that he promotes, Ben points to certain parts of the curriculum that he sees in a positive light. For example, he says that “I like the parts of the curriculum that present a lot of opinions and then you can let the students pick what they prefer.”

When asked if there are parts of the curriculum that he dislikes Ben explained that there are indeed several such parts. For example, discussing the right of *freedom of thought* and the *freedom of opinion*, Ben said: “the curriculum displays this right as the only one that cannot be limited. I do not agree with this claim.” In addition, he admits that he is not really interested in the Bagrut. Nevertheless, he explains his role as a civics teacher “to prepare them for the Bagrut. I think that is fair to the students, to prepare them for the Bagrut.” And he adds that “I feel that I can teach based on the curriculum standards and still touch on all the topics that I am interested in.”

Sarah too has mixed feelings regarding the curriculum and thus presented a different approach to the interactions between her conceptions and those presented in the curriculum. As

she explained in an excerpt presented above, Sarah's general conception aims to advance the participatory aspect of citizenship. That is the reason why in her view curriculum that puts emphasis on the holding of knowledge is just not satisfactory.

Teacher-Student Interactions. Another type of interaction between the different conceptions of CCE is the interaction between the teachers' and the students' personal views. A good example of the interaction between the conception of CCE presented by the teacher and the conception brought forth by the students occurred in Adam's class. Adam met his students for a planned civics lesson but he encountered students that were angry about a Hebrew grammar exam they had taken a few hours before Adam's lesson. In this case several students presented a conception of citizenship that represents a passive model of citizenship, which mainly surrounds the issue of their rights as students. For example, one student said that "the Hebrew grammar teacher did something that she wasn't supposed to do, that is against our rights." Another student explained to Adam that the role of the teachers is to prepare them for the Bagrut, and that anything additional that they teach is exactly that, an addition, not the core. As an answer to these allegations Adam presented a different conception of citizenship, encouraging the students to be active. He recommended that they talk to the Hebrew grammar teacher and even write a letter to the school administrators in order to resolve this problem. This conception of course represents Adam's own personal tendency to promote an active participatory mode of citizenship, in addition and as part of the critical stance.

Another example of the interaction between the students' and the teachers' conceptions was observed in a lesson Adam held in which he mentioned a new law proposal that had just passed in the Knesset. While he was presenting this new law, five students reacted harshly

toward Adam, claiming that he was pushing his own critical personal view regarding the law. In response, Adam told his students that they need to make the distinction between the procedural aspect of the law and the more substantive aspect of it. It was clear that the students concentrated on the procedural aspect of this law: for example, at one point a student started to read the actual phrasing of the law from her cell phone. In response Adam told his students “that is a judicial debate which doesn’t touch on the substance of the discussion.” He continued, and wrote the following on the board:

<u>Equality</u>	
In phrasing	In enforcement

He then explained that the enforcement of such a law has political and social meanings that must be considered, as he explained in his own words: “Words have power and this power can be translated into actions.”

This exchange between Adam and several of his students represents the distinction between a procedural approach and a more substantive one. Whereas Adam’s students chose to stick to the procedural aspect of this new law, it was important for Adam to expose his students to the more substantive aspects. This of course connects to Adam’s own personal critical conception which touches on such substantive issues.

This was not the only case in which Adam had such an exchange with his students. In another lesson a noisy discussion broke out between Adam and one of his students regarding the issue of the limitations of freedom of speech. In a conversation after the lesson, I asked Adam

why he thought the student got so mad at him. He explained that this specific student is very loyal to the state, representing a patriotic conception of citizenship in which criticism toward the state is seen in a negative light. In this argument Adam presented a very different conception of citizenship, one that aims at questioning that very feeling of loyalty. Adam admitted that he did not have a chance to convince the student to change her mind. Nevertheless, he explained that he saw importance in showing her and the other the students in class that other ways of thinking about this issue do exist. He continued explaining that by exposing his students to these other options he will lead them to rethink their own thoughts and assumptions, and thus the importance of such a discussion.

These are two examples of the “devil’s advocate” pedagogical approach that Adam deliberately implemented in his lessons. Another good example of this pedagogy was observed in an additional lesson in Adam’s class. At one point in the lesson in which a classroom discussion was taking place, one student shouted out that “Adam only presents opinions from the left side of the political map.” Adam immediately answered back, explaining that he feels that most of the views being brought forth by the students are from the right wing and that is why he chooses to present opinions from the other side of the political map. He added that if students would have presented views from the political left wing then he would have countered them with arguments from the right side.

The implementation of this pedagogy and the creation of constant interactions between the teacher’s conceptions and those of the students resulted in a feeling of frustration by several of Adam’s students. A good example of this was observed in a lesson following a civics exam. Adam opened this lesson asking the students to reflect on the exam. The students willingly

responded to this request. Here are a few of their responses: “I didn’t have a good feeling while writing the exam despite the fact that I learned all the material and made good summaries;” “I had a hard time identifying exactly what it was you wanted from us;” “It was boring;” and finally one student responded to these remarks saying: “What do you all want? This is what is going to appear on the Bagrut so this is what we need to learn to do.” This frustration represents the reality of Adam’s classroom. On the one hand, due to Adam’s approach and teaching methods, the students are constantly exposed to numerous points of views and to competing conceptions of CCE. On the other hand, the students find it hard to reduce these experiences into a fixed answer on an exam. In fact, it seems like Adam’s students had a hard time studying for the Bagrut due to the exposure to the variety of opinions and points of view that Adam so enthusiastically promoted.

When I confronted Adam with this thought in an interview he agreed, saying: “Sometimes I feel that the students have had enough with my critical approach. They still believe that their grade is the most important thing. To that I answer - fuck their grade.” This is an authentic reflection of Adam’s personal critical approach in its full light.

Such interactions between the teacher and the students were identified in the Dror School as well. For example, at the beginning of one lesson one student told the others in class about a group of “stinky Arabs” that he encountered this morning on his way to school. Ben replied to this remark by saying that if they write an answer on the Bagrut that is racist in this manner they will not receive full credit for that question.

In this case the student in Ben’s class expressed an illegitimate racial conception that is very different than Ben’s own personal ideology. Nevertheless, Ben chose not to confront this

racist remark with the presentation of a counter argument. Instead he created a clear dichotomy between the civics taught in class and the civics that happens in the “real” world. This was his way to mitigate the interaction between these two competing conceptions of CCE. Note that Ben did not deny racism in general but rather presented it as an obstacle that might stand in the students’ way of receiving a higher grade. This is not surprising in light of the disciplined conception that Ben presented throughout his lessons, a conception that acknowledges the importance of such official exams.

Teacher-School Interactions. Another aspect of such interactions between different conceptions of CCE, is that of the interactions between the teacher and the school culture and atmosphere. This type of interaction was expressed both by the teachers and by the experiences they had with their students. It is important to point out that in this case, the interactions do not express the reaction to the students’ own personal view as described above, but rather to the school culture and atmosphere that the students internalized and presented in their very actions.

A clear example of a clash between the teacher and the school was presented by Adam. When asked in an interview if the school policies contradict his own personal conceptions he agreed, explaining that “the school promotes excellence and grades very much, like the Ministry of Education.” He then described an observation of one of his lessons held by the department chair. Adam looked up smiling and said “he observed a lesson of mine and had a lot of criticism.” When I asked Adam how he dealt with such a discrepancy he explained simply that:

I am hypocritical about this, I admit. I “smile to the suit” and then do what I want. I am not willing to give up what I believe in, in my truth. I tell them what they want to hear

and then let them evaluate me based on the Bagrut. I don't need to stay in this school. It is all a question of how much I am willing to compromise.

In an additional interview Adam described the way in which he views the school, and particularly the conception of citizenship that it promotes:

I think that the school has created its own model of citizenship, a model that tries to promote critical thinking but only in the given framework. They don't want the students to break the barriers and borders. And there is also a real individual competitive type of citizenship here too.

He continued to voice his criticism toward this conception, claiming that "I think that the students here are suffering, it is a real "mental injustice" what the students have to experience here. I pity the students that study here."

So we learn that the way Adam deals with the interaction between his own personal conceptions and the school culture is to make compromises. The following exchange from an interview is a good example:

Aviv: So what you are saying is that in order for you to keep your job you need to put your own personal philosophy aside?

Adam: Exactly, it's very sad.

And when pressed further, Adam himself admits that "I don't know how long I will stay in this school." That said, Adam does express a reason why, despite his views, he continues to work at

the Nir school, saying: “I see it as part of the dilemma if the struggle should be from the inside or the outside. I struggle from within the system.” In addition, another reason why Adam can continue to teach in this school is the day-to-day reality in which, as he himself admits, he is able to teach exactly the way he wants. For example, when asked in an interview if he feels like the school blocks him from teaching in his own style, Adam answered: “No, not at all. I can lead classroom discussions all lesson long.” In one occasion Adam even shared what he saw as the advantages of teaching at the Nir School:

I do respect this school. It is very pluralistic and they know how to “hug” the students and the teachers. My first year I was afraid to sit in the teacher’s lounge, but actually it is nice. The level of the teachers is really high so I found my place. Sometimes it feels like a family.

It seems that Sarah’s experiences exist in an even more complex reality regarding this type of interaction between the different conceptions of CCE. In the Zohar school Sarah had to constantly deal with finding a balance between her own personal ideology that promoted the participatory conception of CCE, and the conception presented by the school culture, which was much more disciplined and passive in its nature.

A good example of this type of interaction is displayed in the following exchange between Sarah and her students toward the end of a lesson in which many topics and issues were brought up:

Anat: So is everything that we talked about going to be on the test or was it just for our general knowledge?

Sarah: No, it will not be on the test but I want you to know about these things and know the basic concepts so that when you hear stuff on the news you will understand

Anat: So what should I copy down in my notebook?

In this case the student's remarks represented the school culture that puts emphasis on the didactic learning process. This is the explanation for their desire for Sarah to summarize the material for them and thus represents a passive conception of CCE. On the other hand, Sarah represented a culture that is very different, that of a participatory citizen who wishes to obtain knowledge in order to take part in the political and social processes. In both cases these two competing conceptions collide. Sarah herself is aware of this reality, as she explained in an interview:

From the other lessons the students have in this school they are used to being taught in a very organized manner. The materials are organized and they read and write the material in an organized manner. In other lessons they don't "waste" time ... they want to end the lesson with something written in their notebooks.

This dualism of the participatory conception of CCE that Sarah tried to promote, and the day-to-day reality in the school that represented the disciplined conception, led to feelings of frustration from both Sarah and her students. In one observation, toward the last five minutes of the lesson, one student reminded Sarah that they had a civics exam scheduled the following

week. Sarah, who was still in the middle of an explanation regarding the Israeli constitution, stopped, moved toward the board and wrote down the topics that would appear in the next week's exam. But before she was finished the bell rang, ending the class. After the lesson ended, I overheard two students saying "it isn't fair that Sarah didn't have enough time to tell us what will be on the exam. Now we don't know what we need to learn." Sarah too admitted in an interview that the students in her class are anxious because of her style of teaching. The frustration as a result of this lesson was twofold: the students were frustrated with the fact that they did not have an organized list of topics that they needed to study for the upcoming exam; and Sarah was frustrated that she didn't get to finish talking about the topic she was teaching.

This dualism was apparent in many additional observations. Toward the end of one lesson some students raised their hands to ask Sarah questions about the topic being taught. To this Sarah replied "I see that you have a lot of questions but I need to continue with the material. That is why I won't be answering your questions today." In a conversation after this lesson Sarah explained that the day before she had talked to the other civics teachers in the school and discovered that she was lagging behind in covering the required materials. Not only did Sarah need to confront her students who demanded a more didactical approach; she was also confronted by her fellow colleagues.

Sarah herself admitted that this is the reality in which she acts. When asked in an interview if she felt torn between her will to expand her lessons beyond the official curriculum and the school atmosphere that influences the students' behavior to constantly pull her in a more traditional conception, she stated that this was indeed the situation.

The reality of this type of interaction between these two conceptions resulted in some cases in unclear civics lessons in which the conceptions clearly contradicted one another. In one lesson Sarah dealt with the differences between a regular law and a constitutional law. While Sarah gave an explanation, one student raised his hand and commented “So the constitution has nothing to do with the citizens, because it has more to do with democracy.” Sarah answered back to this remark saying “But the citizens are those who determine the characteristics of democracy” and moved on with her original explanation. I find this quote meaningful because it reflects the deeper understanding of the essence of being a citizen in a democracy. For this student the topics of laws and constitutions have nothing to do with his own status as a citizen in the state, hence his remark. It is as though he sees democracy as an abstract mechanism that has nothing to do with his everyday life. Sarah’s conception of citizenship, on the other hand, represents an approach toward life in a democracy that requires citizens to take part in public life. In reality, Sarah is forced to act between these two extremes.

In order to better understand the importance of this factor, in the following section I will offer an additional cross-case analysis related to the issue of the teachers’ awareness of the contexts in which they teach. This analysis will offer additional insights regarding the ways in which contextual considerations influenced the conception of CCE promoted in each setting.

Consideration of Context. With regard to interactions between the different conceptions of CCE, one of the questions that I asked all three teachers as part of the interviews was if they ever think about teaching in a school other than the one where they are currently placed. When I asked Adam if he would be willing to teach in a school in which the students were not of such a high academic level as in the Nir School, he answered that he indeed wants to work with

unprivileged students one day but that because he is still “learning the basics” he would rather remain at his current position. I continued and asked whether when he finds himself in such a school, he thinks he will implement his critical approach. He answered that although he truly does believe in this approach, specifically when dealing with students who are defined by society as underachievers, who need to understand the basics, he is aware of the reality and there is a chance that in such a school he would teach differently.

Ben, on the other hand, answered that he does not see himself teaching in another school under any circumstances, even if they have students that are a lot more successful than what he is used to at the Dror School. He truly felt that his personality and style of teaching fit his current position and therefore he sees no need to change.

These exchanges say something about the importance that these teachers see relating to the context in which they teach. Even more than their personal ideologies, it seemed that the interaction of ideology with the reality of teaching, each one in her/his specific school, influenced their teaching and thus can explain the differences in the CCE process that were found between them. Therefore, I think that there is something to learn from these specific cases, specifically regarding the ways in which the teachers limited the scope of the conceptions of CCE that were promoted and thus presented this topic in a monolithic manner.

As mentioned, the three schools that participated in this study represent very different contexts in which the process of CCE takes place. A deeper examination of the data obtained as part of this study will demonstrate the ways in which the teachers related to these contexts. As described in the previous chapter, the three schools that participated in this study may be set on an imaginary continuum of their academic level, which is naturally connected to the socio-

economic status of the students that study at that school (Persell, 1997). The Nir School is set on the excellence extreme of this continuum whereas the Dror School is set on the opposite side. The Zohar School may be seen as a middle ground between these two extremes.

This position on this imaginary continuum does not only reflect the school culture, but rather the larger context of the school and of its students. In order to better understand this reality I utilized the terms of *civic abandonment* and *civic activity* as detailed in the Review of the Literature and Theoretical Framework chapter. In general, based on the numerous examples detailed in the previous chapter, the ways in which the students' personal contexts were perceived by the teachers may be divided into three separate categories of *abandonment*, a middle ground between *abandonment* and *activity*, and *activity*.

The students from the Dror School were seen by Ben in the realm of the *abandonment* option although they did not physically leave the state. He saw these students as mentally detached from the Israeli political arena, a fact that is not surprising considering the fact that these students grew up in families that have received so little from the existing social and political situation. The students from the Zohar school were seen by their teacher as set at a middle ground between the *abandonment* and *activity* options. On the one hand Sarah acknowledged that these students do have the academic ability to take part in the political processes, but that in reality, from her perspective, they choose not to practice these abilities. This too is not surprising due to the comprehensive nature of this school that combines groups of students from the mainstream reality of the political life in Israel. The students from the Nir School, as they reflected in Adam's point of view, have clearly been influenced by the *activity* option. As he mentioned regarding the future professions of his students, these students' families

come from the social class that knows how to take advantage of the existing reality. Not only do they understand their social and political surroundings, but they also have the ability to influence it.

Based on this presentation, and by utilizing the insights regarding the three conceptions of CCE that were identified as ideal types, we can better understand the CCE process in relation to each one of these three settings. This also leads to the formation of a general claim regarding the influence of the teachers' perceptions of their students on the narrowing of the conceptions of CCE that are promoted.

The Dror School. Throughout the study I have found that the disciplined conception of CCE was most dominant in Ben's classroom. The fact that Ben teaches in a school that will enroll any student means that in fact many of his students have been expelled from their previous placements. Therefore, it was clear that Ben saw his students as citizens that have developed a feeling of distrust toward such institutions that dealt with them so poorly in the past. In addition, as detailed above, most of the students in the school are from a low socio-economic status and the low academic level of the students was also apparent to Ben.

Understanding this context helps in explaining why the disciplined conception of CCE was chosen by Ben to be dominant in his class. For example, Ben dedicated one lesson to go over questions from the previous Bagrut. Throughout the lesson Ben read the questions out loud and stopped to explain the vocabulary to his students. These explanations included offering definitions for terms such as *privatization* and *employment service*, terms that most of the students have simply never heard of.

Ben reflected on his assumptions regarding the context of his school and of his students. In an interview he explained that he wants his students “to have the basic understanding of democracy and understand the power they have in the system – that is a lot for them, *a lot*.” He continued:

Don’t get me wrong, I will be happy if my students become politically active and I have students that are, but those students come from places where it is natural to be active. But other students that come from different backgrounds won’t be active at all, even if it is on issues that they are concerned about. So I won’t encourage students to be politically active just so they can say that they were. I think it is a lot more important to put emphasis on the knowledge and then create an interaction based on that knowledge.

Yet, when asked in another interview about the critical conception of CCE, Ben answered that “being critical isn’t worth anything if it isn’t based on basic foundational knowledge.” In fact, it is the understanding of foundational knowledge, which he believes that his students are lacking, that Ben sees as one of his main educational goals. This point of view is a good example of the ways in which the teacher may reinforce the students’ civic mode, in this case a mode of *abandonment*, while not exposing them to other modes of citizenship.

The disciplined conception of CCE influences both the school and students’ contexts and the desire to build a feeling of mutual trust between the students and the official institutions of the state. In the lesson in which Ben taught two basic democratic principles of *freedom* and *equality*, Ben explained that a democratic state needs to translate these principles into the state’s policy. At this point a student interrupted and asked:

Ido: So does Israel translate these principles?

Ben: Yes, Israel does believe in these principles and it also translates them into policy.

This is a good example of the way in which, as part of this disciplined conception of CCE, the idea of loyalty to the state is transmitted to the students. This theme was observed in several of Ben's lessons, such as the lesson about the social contract detailed in the previous chapter. In congruence with this philosophy, in this lesson Ben made a point of explaining to his students that the state does indeed supply its citizens' basic needs such as police, fire fighters, schools and hospitals. All of these examples point to the fact that Ben identified his students' position in the realm of the *abandonment* option, and therefore constructed his lessons mainly in an attempt to build and rebuild their trust in Israeli society and politics. This educational logic may be questioned, due to the fact that this process may result in students that are bound to the disciplined mode of citizenship instead of being exposed to more active and critical orientations.

The Zohar School. The participatory conception of CCE was mainly dominant in the Zohar school, which adopted an integrative approach between strong and weak students from both higher and lower socio-economic classes. Sarah explained her point of view in one of the interviews, explaining that whereas the weaker students hold a basic feeling of distrust toward the political system, the stronger students may have more awareness of their abilities to influence the political system, but in many cases just do not care enough. This reflects the way Sarah saw her students as set in the middle ground between the *abandonment* and *activity* options. Among other factors, it is Sarah's identification of this combination between students that feel that they have no influence and students that show no interest in being influential that led her to promote

this conception of CCE. As she mentioned in an interview: “It is our role to make them care and then they will participate.” Regarding this goal she explained that:

Some of the students already have strong opinions and they are politically active, some want to have opinions but aren’t able to arrive at them yet and some are just confused by everything that is happening and don’t even know how to start thinking about these things. So it is not a homogeneous group of students.

When asked if she was frustrated by this complex reality, Sarah answered by saying, “What can I say – education is not a quick fix.” She explained that:

For some of them these things will stay hidden in their brains and will erupt in another year, two years or maybe only in eight years when they become university students. It is like ‘Chinese water torture’ when small drips of water will become a lake at the end.

In other words, it seemed as if the reality of Sarah’s students led them to adopt a consumer-like attitude toward their own citizenship, reflected for example in their constant will to enhance their situation within the given framework, without even speculating about their ability to change this reality. As a result, Sarah put high emphasis on tests and evaluation as part of these lessons. Positioning her students between the *abandonment* and *activity* options led Sarah to create civics lessons that try to push them toward the *activity* option and thus her emphasis on the participatory conception of CCE. Similar to what we learned from the Dror School, here too the teacher’s curricular choice led her to promote a limited perspective of what it means to be a citizen instead of exposing her students to the multiplicity of this topic.

The Nir School. The school in which the critical conception of CCE was most apparent was the Nir School. As Adam explained in one of the interviews, the school is selective in the sense that students need to maintain certain grades in order to stay in the school. This maintains a certain reality in the school, a reality that Adam wishes to change. In an interview he described how in his first lesson with a new class he asks the students the following questions: “How many Ethiopian Jews do we have in our school? How many Arabs? How many kids of single mothers? How many students are different than you?” He explained that the purpose of raising such questions was to get the students to think about the extent in which the school is or is not pluralistic in its nature. This may explain his answer to the question I posed regarding the extent to which the critical conception of CCE fits his students. He answered that it absolutely did, explaining that he sees the critical conception “as a necessity, not just another philosophical element.” These answers all reveal Adam’s point of view when relating to what he sees as his students’ civic orientations, a perspective that highly influenced the framing of his civics lessons.

These contextual conditions served Adam well when promoting the critical conception of CCE. Foremost, the fact that the school administrators did not dictate a particular conception of CCE enabled him to teach the way he saw fit. Of course, the administrators were somewhat suspicious of his approach, and his evaluation as a teacher was mainly based on his students’ success in the Bagrut. Nevertheless, he was able to promote the critical conception of CCE without many obstacles.

As Adam himself admitted, the high academic level of the students also enabled him to expand his lessons to the more critical dimensions. As he mentioned, he knew that his students will do well on the Bagrut no matter how he taught, and therefore he felt free to teach the way he did. This reflects the fact that Adam identified his students' position in the realm of the *activity* option; whereas he saw his own role in trying to influence their voice that in any case will be heard. Once again, this is an example of the way in which teachers limit the teaching of this topic to a certain point of view, a perspective that they feel fits their students' orientation. The numerous confrontational interactions between Adam and his students, as documented above and in the previous chapter, may be seen as the students' reactions to this narrow approach. Interestingly, it is exactly the position of these students in the *civic activity* option that enabled them to voice their disagreement within this classroom reality.

In summary, whereas the context of the Nir School enabled Adam to promote his personal preference of the critical conception of CCE, the special conditions of the Dror School led Ben to teach based mainly on the more traditional disciplined conception. The context of the Zohar School contributed to Sarah's feeling of frustration when she aspired to promote the participatory conception of CCE but was forced, mainly by her students themselves, to teach based on the disciplined conception. Adam's situation enabled him to promote his own personal conception of CCE even when this conception did not entirely match the conception promoted by the school in which he taught. Ben's situation was one of harmony between his own personal conception and the conception promoted by the Dror School in which he taught. Sarah, on the other hand acted in a different reality. On the one hand it was apparent throughout this study that

she wished to promote the participatory conception of CCE, and in many cases she indeed did relate to this aspect. However, this personal stance was contradictory to the context of the Zohar School. The best examples of this phenomenon were those incidents in which the students pulled Sarah away from her original plan and in a sense forced her to teach based on the disciplined conception, in many cases against her own will.

The main conclusion that emerges as a result of the cross-case analyses of these two topics is that whereas the personal preference of the teacher of one conception of CCE over another is of high importance, the compatibility of this choice with the ways in which the teachers perceive their students is a crucial factor that must be considered. These teachers' perceptions of their students are highly influenced by contextual factors such as the students' socio-economic background and academic level, as well as the general school atmosphere. In these three cases this perception resulted in the teaching of a limited conception of CCE, mainly presented as a sole option. In other words, the teachers who stood at the heart of this study limited their own teaching to a monolithic view, which they thought was in congruence with their students' contexts. In this manner, the teachers in fact chose to not expose their students to the multiple conceptions of CCE.

This insight relates to the larger issues of teachers' ability to reflect on their own situation as well as to the question of equity in the Israeli educational system. Adam's choice to promote the critical conception of CCE fit the school culture as well as the way he saw his students, who had the ability to learn by themselves and who grew up in a surrounding that enabled their voices to be heard. In the same manner, Ben's saw his choice to stick mainly to the disciplined conception of CCE to fit both his school's policy and what he saw as his students' grim

backgrounds, in an attempt to distance them from the *abandonment* mentality. Unfortunately, it seemed that Sarah's own personal preference of the participatory conception of CCE simply did not fit the context of the school in which she taught, as the way she saw her students categorized them in the middle ground between the *abandonment* and *activity* options. Her desire to pull her students to the *activity* option led to her feelings of frustration as expressed in the findings of this study.

These examples all represent ways in which the teachers' own understanding of the context in which they teach influenced the way in which they perceived their own students and, based on this perception, influenced the conception of CCE that they wished to promote. This insight supplies one explanation of the main finding of this study – the apparent gap and stark differences between the conceptions being advanced in each setting.²¹ Due to these contextual factors, Ben saw himself as a figure holding the official knowledge that his students lack, thus resembling the notion of hegemonic knowledge as presented by critical theorists such as Apple (1999). Adam, on the other hand, did not see himself as a lone holder of knowledge due to the simple fact that he was aware of his students' ability to obtain knowledge on their own. Therefore, in relation to his students, Adam saw himself as equal, a reality that enables the promotion of the critical conception of CCE. Due to the fact that Adam did not see himself as a hegemonic figure, he felt that he could promote ideas that question even his own status in the classroom, thus resembling the educational aspirations presented by scholars such as Freire (1970). The context of the Zohar School created students that acted mainly as consumers, constantly worrying about their grades, a phenomenon that occurs in the U.S.A. as well (Ravitch,

²¹ See Table 3 - Connections between the Mode of Citizenship and the Conception of CCE.

2011). In this case Sarah's perception of her students was not fully in sync with the school culture and thus she continued to promote the participatory conception of CCE despite this incongruence. This reality led to numerous clashes between her and the students as documented above.

Table 3 – Connections between the Mode of Citizenship and the Conception of CCE

Case	Mode of Citizenship as Perceived by Teacher	Conception of CCE Promoted
The Dror School	Abandonment – students do not have knowledge nor the desire to participate	Disciplined CCE – build trust in the system
The Zohar School	Between abandonment and activity – students have enough knowledge but not the desire to participate	Participatory CCE – promote active citizenship
The Nir School	Activity – students have both the knowledge and the desire to participate	Critical CCE – influence the nature of the participation

Based on these two cross-case analyses, the central claim that emerges from this study is that this civic education gap implies a social reality of inequality as shown in the three classroom settings in relation to this specific subject matter. This gap between these three cases suggests that students are experiencing significant differences in their orientation to the CCE process: the students in the Nir school were exposed to the critical conception of CCE despite the fact that these students were seen by their teacher as affiliated with families and social groups that in fact take advantage of the social and political structures. On the other hand, the students from the

Dror School were not given this opportunity, despite the fact that their teacher saw them as belonging to the social group that is in need of exactly these types of experiences in order to enhance their situation. Instead, their experience concentrated mainly on the narrow and disciplined conception of CCE that in fact maintained their own social reality.

Despite my deep appreciation for the sensibility of teachers who took part in this study, who, as demonstrated above, tried to relate to their students' contexts, this perception influenced their educational actions and in fact reinforced social inequalities regarding the students' access to the different conceptions of CCE. From this study we can speculate how these perceptions influenced the ways civics is taught, illuminating the fact that those students who are in need of enhancing their civic awareness and dispositions the most in order to enable their social mobility are not being exposed to the participatory and critical conceptions of CCE that could have this effect.

In this sense, this examination of the Israeli setting contributes to our understanding of the teaching of civics in a state characterized by deep social and political rifts and that lacks a clear civic culture agreed upon by all parts of society. In this regard, the findings of this study illuminate the process in which the teaching of civics may in fact reinforce social inequalities and limit the students' exposure to the multiplicity of the different civic orientations. This insight is relevant to additional democracies that too suffer from such a fragile reality.

One of the main conclusions of this study is the importance of teachers reflecting on the context in which they teach and understanding the ways in which these contexts influence the ways in which they view their students and, as an outcome of this perception, their choices regarding the conceptions of CCE that they wish to promote in their classroom. In order to assist

with this task, in the following section, I will detail several practical implications that emerged as a result of this discussion.

Implications

This study examined the manifestation of conceptions of CCE in three Israeli civics classrooms. In this section I will detail the implications of the findings and conclusions of this study in relation to the ongoing academic discourse, while thinking about its contributions to professional development and the training of new civics teachers. First, I will offer a theoretical model of the CCE process based on the three ideal types of CCE identified in this study while considering the importance of relating to contextual factors as previously presented. The importance of this model is that it enables teachers to better reflect on the conceptions of CCE that gear their teaching, and thus may help in thinking about the ways in which these conceptions interact with the context of their schools and of the ways in which they themselves see their students as civic actors. Afterwards, I will detail the pedagogical practices that were identified across all three settings.

A Model of the Citizenship and Civic Education Process. The challenges that I identified throughout this study relating to the conceptions of CCE mainly occurred in those cases when the different conceptions clashed. Tensions regarding the specific conception of CCE arose when different factors in the educational arena – such as the teacher, the students, the curriculum or the school culture – aimed to promote competing conceptions. Adam's critical remarks toward his own students, who presented a more disciplined conception, is one example. Sarah's frustration over her desire to promote the participatory conception, while the school in which she taught promoted the disciplined conception, is another.

In order to deal with such tensions, I offer a descriptive theoretical model of the CCE process that is composed of the different conceptions of CCE as identified in this study. As presented in the previous chapter and based on the methodological insights of Weber (1949), I have already discussed the three ideal types of CCE that include a disciplined conception, a participatory conception and a critical one. It is important to emphasize that this model is composed only of those conceptions of CCE that were identified in these specific cases. As mentioned above, additional conceptions of CCE do exist. Thus, based on this models' modular nature, it may be modified to include such additional conceptions as well, and thus its uniqueness. In other words, the theoretical model to be presented herein is unique in the sense that it does not present these conceptions as a trichotomy, forcing the teachers to choose one conception over the other, but rather in an parallel manner, which enables a combination of the different conceptions as well as the accumulation of additional conceptions as well. In this regard, this presentation resembles the famous theoretical model of the dimensions of multicultural education presented by Banks (1993b), who also chose to present ideal types in such a manner, rather than framed as a question of either/or. As Banks explains:

Typologies are helpful conceptual tools because they provide a way to organize and make sense of complex and disparate data and observations. However, their categories are interrelated and overlapping, not mutually exclusive. Typologies are rarely able to encompass the total universe of existing or future cases. Consequently, some cases can be described only by using several of the categories (p. 7).

Based on the findings of this study, my main assumption when constructing this model was that what led to such tensions was the reality in which the teachers were forced to choose

one conception over the others, thus presenting these conceptions as mutually exclusive alternatives to one another. This phenomenon was apparent in relation to the ways in which the teachers who took part in this study related to their students' civic orientations as presented above. In order to deal with this reality, and following the words of anthropologist Leach (as cited in Alexander, 2009), who explained that "the more complex the model, the less likely it is to be useful" (p. 5), the following model is composed of three different phases of the CCE process, whereas each phases represents a different conception of CCE. In this manner these conceptions of CCE complete one another rather than compete with one another, thus enabling the teachers to better reflect on the conceptions of CCE that they are promoting while considering contextual factors.²² In this manner, this cafeteria style model emphasizes the teachers' ability to choose different elements from the existing conceptions of CCE and thus may be seen as a remedy to the reality described above. This model respects the multiplicity and complexity of this educational process instead of relating to the conceptions of CCE in a sole manner.

As mentioned, this model was directly derived from the findings of this study, mainly regarding the need that civics teachers relate to the social realities of the school in which they teach and to their monolithic perception of their students' civic orientations. In regard to the civic education gap that was identified between these three cases, the use of such a model may be seen as a way to bridge this gap, enabling all students to be exposed to the different conceptions of CCE in a structured manner. Thus, this model may be seen as a pedagogical tool that will assist in mitigating such educational inequalities.

²² See Figure 3: A model of the civic education process.

Figure 3: A Model of the CCE Process Based on the Findings of this Study

<u>Phase 1:</u>	<u>Phase 2:</u>	<u>Phase 3:</u>
The	The	The
casting of	demonstration	development
foundational	of an active	of a critical
Knowledge	mode of	stance
(Disciplined	citizenship	(Critical
Conception	(Participatory	Conception
of CCE)	Conception of	of CCE)
	CCE)	

The first phase of this theoretical model is dedicated to the disciplined conception of CCE that relates mainly to the building of trust between the students and the social surroundings and political institutions. Based on this conception, the first educational goals of the CCE process should be mainly concerned with the transmission of foundational knowledge regarding citizenship in the state. I argue that such knowledge is essential for any of the citizens in the

state, even if they choose a more participatory or critical stance later on in the process.

Therefore, one of the first phases of CCE to be considered includes the casting of foundational knowledge to be shared by all citizens.

The second phase of the model is derived from the participatory conception of CCE, based on the assumption that democratic citizenship should include active-participatory elements. I agree with the argument presented by the supporters of this conception that merely retaining knowledge is not satisfactory for citizenship in our times. There is a need to demonstrate to the students how such knowledge can be translated into an active mode of citizenship. This stance is deeply rooted in the social studies tradition, for example in the writings of Parker and Hess (2001), who illuminate the importance of conducting a class deliberation that is aimed at finding a practical solution for a social problem based on a solid understanding.

And finally, the third phase of this model relates to the critical conception of CCE. The main assumption is that the critical stance is important in the sense that it encourages thoughtful, active citizens. In this manner the students can demonstrate their critical stance toward the knowledge that they themselves were taught in the other phases of the model, thus creating a coherent and purposeful education process.

Each one of these educational phases of this offered model can be attributed to a different mode of citizenship, as demonstrated in the evaluation of the findings of this study: the first phase is extremely relevant for the abandoned citizens because it opens an opportunity to rebuild the must-needed trust of such citizens in the social surroundings and the political institutions; the second phase can be effective specifically regarding those citizens categorized in the middle

ground between the abandoned and active options and thus seldom try to influence the political system; and the third phase of this model relates to those active citizens that already believe in the political system and in their ability to influence it, thus forcing them to question these very assumptions. Based on the findings of this study, it is important to mention that the original intention of constructing this theoretical model based on this study was not to define that certain students should be taught only a sole conception of CCE based on their civic orientation, or the civic orientation perceived by their teachers, but rather enable teachers to expose students from diverse backgrounds to the different conceptions in a structured manner.

In order to further explain this theoretical model, I will demonstrate its application when teaching the topic of the Israeli Declaration of Independence, a mandatory topic in the Israeli civics curriculum that is similar to the teaching of such historic foundational documents in other national settings. In phase one, the Declaration of Independence will be taught in the disciplined manner. Such lessons will include a shared reading of the document while pinpointing those elements that framed the social and political life in the state of Israel, particularly the official definitions of Israel as a Jewish-Democratic state.

After creating this basic acquaintance between the students and the historic document, in phase two of this offered CCE model, the reading of the Declaration of Independence will be seen as a means for a larger civic goal. Such lessons will be dedicated to creating a feeling of affiliation between the students and the state and to demonstrate the necessary social and political actions that led to the declaration's formation. In this manner this phase will create an additional goal of the CCE process, moving from the basic acquaintance with the document to

understanding how groups and individuals acted in order to reach the historic moment of declaring the independence of the state of Israel.

After they are exposed to these two conceptions of CCE, the students will be encouraged to examine the document with a critical eye. This phase will include questions regarding the power struggles that led to certain wording in the document²³ as well as questioning of what was not included in this document.²⁴ In this manner the students will develop their critical thinking skills only after they learned about the document and understood the civic applications that it contains.

The construction of this theoretical model of the CCE process was influenced by what I learned throughout this study. For example, it was Ben who represented the need to share a basis of foundational knowledge before moving to the critical stance. In the same manner, a comparison between Adam and Sarah, who both taught lessons about an identical topic, demonstrated to me how the content could be treated in different ways. Whereas Sarah expressed her opinion that the teaching of content should be seen as a goal on its own, based on the disciplined conception, Adam treated the same content as a means toward the larger goal of helping his students develop critical thinking skills.

In addition, the idea of constructing lessons in which the different conceptions of CCE are presented in an overlapping manner was observed in several cases in all three classrooms in this study. In these cases, the civics lessons were divided into clear sections, each promoting a different conception of CCE. As previously mentioned, several of Sarah's lessons were good

²³ Such as the fact that the word *God* does not appear despite the important role of the Jewish religion in relation to this declaration.

²⁴ Such as a clear definition of the term *democracy*.

examples of the strategy in which she first taught the foundational terms and concepts and only then had her students discuss their own personal opinions regarding what they learned. Adam implemented a similar strategy, beginning several lessons with the disciplined conception's pedagogy of dictating definitions of key terms to his students. Only after the students copied these definitions to their notebooks did Adam begin to lead his students to a discussion in which he questioned the very meanings of the concepts and terms that were dictated only minutes before.

The main benefit of this model is that it does not force teachers to choose one conception of CCE over the other. Based on this model, the conceptions of CCE are not seen as representing a contradiction between one another but rather as a necessary combination. In this manner each teacher has the freedom to decide which conception should be emphasized, based on her/his understanding of the context in which they teach. It is important to emphasize, however, that the intention is that eventually various conceptions of CCE will be covered, thus offering a remedy to the phenomenon recognized in this study of teachers concentrating on one conception alone. Therefore, this model may be seen as pedagogical tool helping teachers expose their students to different conceptions of CCE that overlap, and in this manner offer them a new way of treating their students' civic orientations with all of its complexity.

In sum, the advantage of this model is twofold: it respects the teachers' own personal views and ideologies and enables them to promote such views as part of the civics lessons. In addition, this model forces the teachers to relate to the multiple contexts of both the schools and of their students and in this manner make sure that the teachers do not choose to see their students while following a simplistic sole fixed perception. In this regard, in the following I will

present the main pedagogical strategies that were used by all three teachers, reaching each of the different settings and the different conceptions of CCE that were promoted.

Pedagogical Strategies. An additional aspect that deserves consideration in relation to the reality of the CCE gap as identified throughout this study is that of pedagogical practices. Despite the variance between the different conceptions of CCE that were identified in the three schools, a commonality shared by all three teachers was the use of several similar pedagogical strategies. Therefore, this section should be seen in light of the research tradition of models-of-wisdom (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Wineburg & Wilson, 1988), also known as the “good cases” approach (Hess, 2002; Shulman, 1983), that strive “to learn from the possible, not only the probable” (Hess, 2002, p. 15). Of course this research tradition has been critiqued, particularly regarding the ability to learn from such “good cases” when dealing with a multicultural and multinational context (Wesley-Esquimaux & Calliou, 2010). Nevertheless, it is my belief that the following pedagogical practices reflect educational strategies that can be put to use in congruence with any one of the different conceptions as part of the offered model of CCE, and in relation to the diverse settings.

Dictation. The civics subject matter is very much knowledge-based. Therefore a common teaching strategy that was identified was the dictation of terms and topics. In most cases the teachers had prepared in advance clear definitions to write on the board. The students then copied these definitions to their notebooks.

Despite the differences, all three teachers that took part in this study had at some point used this teaching strategy. For example, in an interview Ben explained that in certain cases there is an advantage in choosing such a strategy based on the transmission of basic knowledge and

ideas. In the same manner, when Sarah used this teaching strategy she made a point to ensure that the students understood the terms and topics being dictated, and did not just copy them down from the board. And even Adam, who expressed his feelings against such dictation of content, used this teaching method on several occasions, expressing his understanding of “the needs of my students every now and then I will have a lesson that is more knowledge based.”

Use of Concrete Examples. One of the main characteristics of the civics curriculum is that it includes numerous theoretical terms and concepts derived from the fields of political science, law and philosophy. *Parliamentary regime, the rule of law* and *the social contract* are just a few examples of terms and concepts that appeared throughout the observed lessons. One of the civics teachers’ main challenges is to teach such terms and concepts. A common strategy that I identified in all three settings was the use of concrete examples in order to describe and clarify such abstract ideas. In an interview Adam explained the logic behind this strategy, mainly the ability to offer the students examples of complex abstract ideas in a tangible manner. Ben too described the use of this strategy in an interview and explained that such examples help the students remember the material. In an interview Sarah summarized the use of this strategy, explaining that “There is no other way. They can’t understand the theoretical level by itself. They are 16 years old; in order to help them understand I always jump between the concrete and the abstract ideas and then back.”

Current Events. As expected with civics lessons in which one of the main goals is the creation of a connection between the students and their surroundings, the reference to current events was not surprising. In addition, living in a state such as Israel with dramatic news

occurring around the clock, it is hard to ignore some of the events that eventually found their way to the classroom.

Sarah explained the relation to current events saying that “I will bring news articles that seem interesting to me and that I think can have a connection to them. I try to create interest.” On several occasions Adam, Ben and Sarah decided not to teach their planned civics lesson but rather refer to public events that were happening in the country. For example, the Israeli Supreme Court’s cancelation of a law that was passed in the Knesset was mentioned in all three settings. In addition, on one occasion Ben referred to the time of the year, connecting the content of his lesson to the national Memorial Day for Yitzhak Rabin that was to occur the following day.

Leading Classroom Discussions. A common teaching strategy that was observed in all three settings was the use of classroom discussions. These discussions were mainly teacher-centered, meaning that once a topic was raised different students voiced their opinions, but the teacher determined who spoke and when. In addition, I did not observe any case in which the teachers taught rules and regulations of holding such a discussion. Nevertheless, several common pedagogical strategies were observed during such discussions. These included:

- *Paraphrasing* – the teachers paraphrased what one student said so that the entire class could understand. For example, after one student in Sarah’s class expressed his views on a certain topic, Sarah said “so what you meant was ...” and rephrased his views for the entire class to hear, making sure that all the other students in class understood the connection to the discussion and to the general content being taught.

- *Clarification* – the teachers made a point of clarifying the key terms that came up in the discussion. For example, in one discussion Sarah made sure that the students understood the difference between “government” and “regime” (which in Hebrew are similar words).
 - *Student involvement* – the teachers tried to get all of the students in class involved in the discussion. For example, at one point Sarah turned to a quiet student and asked to hear her opinion.
 - *Reaction* – when leading discussions Adam made a point to react to every one of the students’ remarks in order to help them develop their ideas. For example, he would summarize the view that they presented and show the connection to the larger topic.
 - *Enhancing arguments* – in several cases the teachers made a point of indicating to the students the quality of their arguments. For example, in one case Sarah said to a student who had just presented his views “that is not a good argument, that is a populist view, try to say what you want again using an actual argument”.
 - *Connection to content* – on several occasions the teachers began a new topic by raising questions and using the students’ answers as starting points for the lesson. For example, in one case after a student in Sarah’s class voiced his view she asked him to “take what you just said and use it in order to understand the larger issue”.
 - *Maintaining order* – though as mentioned the teachers did not set clear ground rules for the discussions, they did make sure that the discussions were held in an orderly fashion. For example, in one discussion Sarah had to remind her students to raise their hands and added that the discussion “should be aimed here” as she pointed to the teacher’s table.
- This is an example of the way in which these discussions were teacher-centered.

Playing Devil's Advocate. In relation to the pedagogical strategy of leading classroom discussions, a common practice that was identified, and was described in the previous chapter, included the teachers posing opinions that were the opposite of the opinions that the students presented. In an interview Adam explained that in this manner he is able to “reflect to my students their own views and have them question these views by offering a different answer to the same issue”. Sarah also explained this strategy in an interview saying that it is like “putt[ing] a mirror in front of the student.”

Student-Relevant Pedagogy. Another important strategy that was identified was the connection of the content to the students’ own lives. As Ben explained in an interview “the students need to have a personal connection to the material so that they can learn.” Sarah also expressed this view, explaining that “you have to start the teaching from the place where the students are and then go forward with them. There isn’t any other option” and adds that she always “make[s] sure that the materials being taught will be relevant for the students and for their lives.”

Two examples from the observations in Ben’s class expressed the strength of this pedagogical strategy. In a lesson about the Diaspora Jews, one student interrupted and said that his parent migrated to Israel from Russia in the early 1990’s. Ben took advantage of this interruption and asked the students why it is that Jews of Russia felt the need to come to Israel. He continued to explain that special connection between the Jews of the world and Israel, which is seen as a safe haven. The student confirmed this explanation saying that indeed that is the reason why his parents came to Israel in the first place.

In another lesson Ben was trying to teach the concept of pluralism. Seeing the lack of response from the students regarding this topic he turned to them and asked “What kind of music do you like?” The students, somewhat surprised, began throwing answers such as pop, rock and *Mizrahi*.²⁵ To this Ben responded saying:

You see, in order for you to have developed your own personal taste you first needed to hear different types of music. What would have happened if there was only one radio station? You wouldn’t even know what music you like. If you are not exposed to different opinions or styles you can’t develop your own personal opinion.

The Teacher as a Role Model. Moving beyond the formal teaching strategies mentioned above, all three teachers saw themselves as educational and civil role models. In this sense they understood that the students in their classes were monitoring their teachers’ behavior and thus the teachers made sure to maintain a behavior that reflected the civic conception that they wished to promote. Ben explained this strategy in an interview saying that “the main thing that we do is modeling, meaning that the students look up to us and see the way we act. So for example I constantly try to show them that I don’t think that all Arabs are bad.” Adam too related to this type of educational goal, explaining that “the fact that I constantly ask questions is something that I want them to do as well. Now I know that this sounds bad but I simply want them to be like me.” Sarah also used this strategy in order to promote the participatory conception, explaining that “I told the students that I went to the social protests in the summer and we talked

²⁵ A popular Israeli music style that is mainly influenced by Middle Eastern music.

about it in class. Now in class the students presented a cynical approach saying that the demonstrations won't help."

It seems like more than others, this pedagogy has to do with the main theoretical findings of this study in relation to the students' background and context. In fact, in several cases the teachers wished to present an alternative model of an adult for their students. This was most prominent in Ben's case, as he explained:

In a school like ours ... 90 percent of what we are doing is modeling. A lot of them come from backgrounds where they don't trust the grownups and it is our role to rebuild that trust in the way we act and in the interactions with them. In some senses it is more like a youth movement.

He added that he thinks that "it is excellent that my students meet something that they are not used to. They should meet something that is different from them; they understand that we are also humans despite our differences." For example, he was reminded of a case when he told one of his students that he does not watch a lot of television and how "the student's whole perception of the world shattered." In addition, Ben admitted that this type of modeling is a way of conveying the feeling of respect toward his students, explaining that "I will always be on time, and will never answer my phone during a lesson. This way I transmit to them that I am treating them seriously, this is the modeling."

In addition to these pedagogical strategies that were identified in all three settings, I will briefly describe more teaching methods that were used by only some of the teachers in this study.

Use of Primary Documents. The use of primary documents was observed in both Adam's and Sarah's classrooms. Nevertheless, each related to the documents in a different manner. Whereas Sarah related to them as a source from which she could point to key terms and ideas, Adam had his students evaluate the documents while implementing critical thinking skills. For example, he asked them to relate to the time when the document was written and to the identity of the writer. In other words, although both teachers used primary documents in their lessons, Sarah saw them as a means to promote the disciplined conception of CCE whereas Adam used them to promote the critical conception.

Viewing of Film. As described in the previous chapter, Adam taught one unit by showing a documentary film. While viewing the film with his students he implemented several of the classroom discussion strategies detailed above. For example, he stopped the screening at certain points and asked his students opinions about what they had just seen. He also made a point of connecting what they saw in the film to the content that he taught in previous lessons. For example, at one point he stopped the screening and asked "So what did we learn from this last part about the concepts of power, authority and the limitation of power?"

Referring to Philosophy. Another strategy that was identified in Adam's class was a relation to philosophical aspects of the content being taught. For example, when he taught the topic of the separation of power in a democracy he made sure to connect this topic to the philosophical idea of *the social contract*. In a conversation after the lesson, he explained that in this way "I am not just teaching by a check-list but rather promoting the understanding of the philosophical meanings that stand behind this political mechanism." He utilized this method as

well when teaching the different voting systems, explaining to his students that he wants them to “understand the philosophical foundation that stands at the basis of each electoral system.”

Field Trips. As described in the previous chapter, on one occasion I joined Adam’s class on a day field trip to the Knesset and the Supreme Court. Although the conception of CCE that the class received from the guide was disciplined in its nature, Adam made sure to relate to the critical elements while talking to his students between the sites, and when relating to the trip in the following lessons.

It is important to point out that we of course cannot disconnect these teaching strategies from the larger content-related issues that stand at the heart of this study. As stated by Seixas (1999) “Hertzberg, Dewey, and Shulman remind us that content separated from pedagogy is an incomplete metaphor for knowledge” (p. 318). Therefore, in this manner we can in fact position these different common strategies that were identified as part of this study in relation to the three main conceptions of CCE.²⁶

For example, it is clear that the strategy of dictation may be categorized in the realm of the disciplined conception, due to this strategy’s emphasis on the passiveness of the students. On the other hand, the use of current events and classroom discussions as teaching strategies relates directly to the participatory conception of CCE and the desire to promote an active mode of students’ participation – in the classroom and in the state. A teacher who wishes to promote the critical conception of CCE can put to use numerous teaching opportunities such as the viewing

²⁶ See Table 4 - Pedagogical Strategies in Relation to the Conceptions of CCE.

of film or field trips in order to demonstrate to the students how this critical approach exists in real-life settings.

In congruence with the main findings and conclusions of this study, teaching strategies must not be overlooked when teachers relate to the interactions between the different conceptions of CCE as well as in regard to the contextual issues mentioned above. In fact, the choice of a teaching strategy should be seen as an inherent part of the teachers' mission and should be referred to in relation to the other influential factors mentioned throughout this study.

Table 4 - Pedagogical Strategies in Relation to the Conceptions of CCE

Conception of CCE	Main Pedagogical Strategies
Disciplined CCE	Dictation, Use of Concrete Examples
Participatory CCE	Current Events, Classroom Discussions
Critical CCE	Primary Documents, Viewing of Film, Field Trips

Significance of the Study

Moving beyond these practical implications, in this section the significance of this study will be presented. This study's main contribution has to do with the understanding of the connections between the social reality of students and the enactment of a specific conception of CCE in

relation to this reality. As mentioned, the emphasis on these very connections is a topic that is seldom mentioned in the literature, and thus this study's main importance. In this sense, the setting of this study and relation to the social and political rifts that characterize Israeli society offer an important case study that enables the examination of this issue in the context of a fragile democracy. In the following I will expand on this study's four main contributions that all relate to this general claim.

The first contribution has to do with the concentration of this study that, as explained in the Introduction chapter, was highly influenced by the idea that educational goals are an important factor that should be considered. Based on this assumption, we may state that the main finding of this study is the existence of three very different educational aspirations. In each one of the three cases the civics lessons were striving to promote different types of citizens, and therefore incorporated different educational assumptions, goals and strategies. The fact that these three classes were all affiliated with the same educational track, and that in all three cases the classes were preparing for the identical statewide matriculation exam, says something about the reality of differentiation in the Israeli educational system, specifically when bearing in mind the fact that in Israel democratic ideals are still debated and contested (Avnon, 2006).

This study's main second contribution is in forging the connection between the research of such educational conceptions aspirations and goals to the portrayal of the phenomenon of inequality regarding the specific subject matter of civics as documented in the Israeli setting. As previously detailed in the Review of the Literature and Theoretical Framework chapter, numerous studies have identified and discussed the civic achievement gap (Kahne & Middaugh, 2008; Levinson, 2007), even specifically in the Israeli setting (Ichilov, 2002). However, to the

best of my knowledge, no previous study has showed how this gap was related to the philosophical conceptions that stood at the basis of the educational process. In addition, and excluding the case of Singapore (Ho et al., 2011), no previous study has documented a reality of such variance regarding the conceptions of CCE that are promoted as part of the state's official educational system. As mentioned, various studies point to the fact that this civic achievement gap has to do with the lack of civic engagement opportunities across different schools. Whereas this indeed can be the case, this study illuminates an even more troubling reality regarding this issue – the reality of an ontological gap regarding the very type of citizen that is being promoted, within the realm of the same educational track.

A third important finding of this study relates to one of the explanations of this reality. Indeed, it was clear that the teachers' own personal conceptions of CCE influenced their teaching practice, thus reinforcing the concept of teachers as curricular-instructional gatekeepers (Thornton, 1991). However, as described above, a prominent factor that had strong influence on the experiences in the classrooms was the teachers' ability to reflect on their interaction with the context in which they taught. With the use of the typology of *civic abandonment* and *civic activity*, I have discussed the ways in which the teachers' deepest understanding of their students' reality influenced the very conception of CCE that they thought was appropriate. As documented, the three teachers who took part in this study all perceived their students with a certain sole civic orientation in mind. This perception framed the conception of CCE that was promoted in each case, thus reinforcing the existing social inequalities. In addition, based on these perceptions, the teachers overlooked the possibility to promote multiple conceptions of CCE and thus limited the students' access to the different conceptions of CCE. This resulted in a

reality in which those students who are in the most need of enhancing their civic awareness and dispositions in order to enable their social mobility are not being exposed to the participatory and critical approaches to CCE that could have this effect.

A fourth contribution of this study has to do with its practical implications. The offered typology of the conceptions of CCE, the model of the CCE process that is based on these different ideal types as well as the pedagogical strategies all may be seen as important tools for researchers, teachers and teacher educators engaging in this field, specifically regarding the attempt to treat this topic in a complex and multi-layer manner.

Finally, this study's theoretical insights may be relevant for other democracies that share similar conditions. Particularly, as described, the reality in which there is an absence of a clearly defined conception of citizenship to be shared by all leaves this field open to such multiple interpretations. Therefore, the findings and implications of this study may resonate with other democracies that share the same conditions.

Limitations and Future Studies

As mentioned in the Introduction chapter, the fact that this study was set in the tradition of qualitative educational research limited the ability to create generalizations based on these findings alone. Therefore, surveys and additional quantitative studies may have an important contribution reinforcing the reality that was portrayed in the realm of this study. In addition, longitudinal studies that may assess the long-term impact of the manifestations of these conceptions of CCE are needed.

Another limitation of this study that was already mentioned is the fact that it took place in similar educational settings. Future studies should expand this limited scope, offering for example comparisons between the teaching of civics in the different educational tracks, specifically between the Jewish secular, Jewish religious and Arab schools. Tracing and comparing the conceptions of CCE that are promoted in different types of schools will have a meaningful contribution to our understanding of this topic and of the social inequalities that are connected to this field.

Whereas this study concentrated on the teaching of the civics subject matter, I am confident that the conceptions of CCE that were identified influence the teaching of additional subject matters as well, such as history, geography and also extra-curricular activities such as participation in field trips. Future research can utilize these and additional conceptions as ideal types in order to explain the civic aspects of such teaching experiences.²⁷

And finally, as mentioned, one important factor that exceeded the scope of this limited study was the evaluation of the conceptions of CCE that characterized the students who studied in these classrooms. Future studies should evaluate the CCE process as reflected, for example, in the shifts in the students' own personal conceptions of what it means to be a good Israeli citizen. Another interesting future exploration may include the evaluation of shifts and changes regarding the conceptions of citizenship as presented by Israeli youngsters throughout their military service, juxtaposed to the conceptions they were taught at school.

²⁷ For more on this see Cohen (2008).

Concluding Thoughts

The incident of the firing of the state-wide supervisor of civics studies from the Ministry of Education, with which I opened this presentation, is only one example that demonstrates the ongoing threats to the quality of Israeli democracy. In the months I spent planning, conducting and writing this study, more and more public concerns were raised regarding this issue. The Association for Civil Rights in Israel, for example, published a report (Gild-Hayo, 2010) regarding the attacks on Israeli democracy, explaining that these attacks:

are mainly characterized by attempts to silence social or political minorities' views or public criticism; attempts to delegitimize political rivals, human-rights organizations, and minorities; attempts to restrict parties with positions or activities that do not coincide with the political majority's desired direction; and by presenting minorities in the Israeli society as enemies of the state, generalizing in an attempt to infringe on their civil and political rights (para. 3).

Recently, the New York Times dedicated an editorial piece voicing this concern ("Israel's Embattled Democracy," 2012), explaining that "many Israelis have a cultural mistrust of the democratic values on which the state was founded," ("Israel's Embattled Democracy," para. 5) and that Israel's basic commitment to liberal values and human rights "are in danger of being lost." ("Israel's Embattled Democracy," para. 8).

In light of this reality, the findings of this study of the teaching of civics in Israel are truly disturbing. The understanding that certain students, specifically from the lower socio-economic

status and lower academic levels, were exposed to a limited conception of CCE that maintained their status as *abandoned citizens*, as well the theoretical claim that teachers perceive their students' civic orientations and, based on this perception, frame their civics lessons all lead to the reinforcement of the current situation. Therefore, the existence of such a gap between the different schools regarding the conceptions of CCE being promoted, as documented in this study, is a situation that should be further considered in regard to this reality.

In addition, we should further illuminate the importance of recognizing the fundamental philosophical conceptions of CCE that influence the assumptions, goals, curriculum and pedagogical strategies of these civics lessons, and of the general CCE experiences that occur in the schools. It is also my hope that the findings of this study will help in reemphasizing the important place and the amount of trust that the civics teachers deserve, due to their key role as part of this process.

In 1895 Max Weber (1895/2003) spoke at the inaugural event of Freiburg University, claiming that:

For the present, however, one thing is clear: there is an immense work of political education to be done, and there is no more serious duty for each of us in our narrow spheres of activity than to be aware of this task of contributing to the political education of our nation (p. 27).

117 years later, it seems that these important words are still relevant. With this study, I hope to both raise awareness of such social disparities in the conceptions of CCE being promoted in

different schools, as well as create a change based on the understanding that civics teachers must relate to their students civic context in order to enact a meaningful educational experience. In this manner I hope to fulfill my own personal duty as a human being, a scholar, a Jew and most importantly – as a concerned Israeli citizen.

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What conceptions of citizenship and civic education appeared throughout the lesson? In what manner (e.g. key spoken phrases, texts used, activities)?

Conception	Expression

APPENDIX B – Teacher Interview Protocol

Round 1 - Beginning of Unit

1. What does it mean to be a good Israeli citizen?
2. Do you think that your personal conception of good citizenship will influence your teaching of civics? How?
3. What other factors will influence your teaching of this subject?
4. Are there other conceptions of citizenship that exist in the general Israeli context?
5. Are there other conceptions of citizenship that exist in the context of the classroom and the school?
6. Do you think that these additional conceptions of good citizenship influence your teaching of civics? How?

Round 2 – Middle of Unit

1. What does it mean to be a good Israeli citizen?
2. Choose one example from the last weeks that represents a case of a good teaching experience you had in the classroom. Why did you choose this case?
3. What factors made this case an example of good teaching?
4. Do you think that your personal conception of citizenship influenced this case?
5. What other factors influenced this case?

Round 3 – End of Unit

1. What does it mean to be a good Israeli citizen?
2. Do you think that your personal conception of good citizenship influenced your teaching of civics? How?
3. What other factors had influence on your teaching of this subject?
4. Are there other conceptions of citizenship that exist in the general Israeli context?
5. Are there other conceptions of citizenship that exist in the context of the classroom and the school?
6. Have you found contradictions between your personal conception and these other factors? If so, how did you resolve these contradictions?

APPENDIX C – Document Analysis Protocol

Identifying Information

1. Resource Name
2. Author/s
3. Year of Publication
4. Publishers
5. Description (standards/text book/teacher guide)

General Questions

1. What are the goals of this document?
2. What topics does it relate to?
3. How is it organized?

Conceptions of Citizenship and Civic Education

1. Which conceptions of citizenship and civic education appear in the document? In what manner?

Conception	Expression

2. How else does the text refer to conceptions of citizenship and civic education?
3. What is the excerpt that best represents the manifestation of conceptions of citizenship and civic education in the text?
4. Are conceptions of citizenship and civic education represented in a theoretical manner? What is the best excerpt that represents this?
5. Are conceptions of citizenship and civic education represented in an empirical manner? What is the best excerpt that represents this?

Pedagogy

1. How are the topics presented?
2. What questions and/or exercises accompany the topics taught?
4. What visual texts are put to use?

Summary

1. How can this text be summarized?
2. Any additional observations?

APPENDIX D – Sample List of Codes for Data Analysis

Nodes

Name	Sources	References	Created On
CURRICULUM	0	0	7/15/2012 11:56 AM
National Standards - Curricu	10	22	6/28/2012 4:12 PM
Textbooks	2	4	6/28/2012 4:13 PM
The Bagrut + Tests	11	35	6/28/2012 4:44 PM
OTHER	0	0	7/15/2012 11:59 AM
Active - Passive Citizenship	4	16	7/15/2012 6:03 PM
Civic Language	2	2	6/28/2012 4:38 PM
Clashes	5	30	7/15/2012 6:48 PM
Jerusalem	3	4	7/15/2012 5:58 PM
Procedural - Substantive Citi	3	13	7/15/2012 7:20 PM
Socio Economic Factors	4	5	7/15/2012 12:47 PM
Thoughts	6	21	7/15/2012 4:26 PM
Translation	9	19	6/28/2012 4:08 PM
QUOTES	10	56	7/15/2012 4:19 PM
Reflection	1	1	7/18/2012 3:21 PM
SCHOOLS	0	0	7/15/2012 11:54 AM
School Context - Culture	11	62	6/28/2012 4:16 PM
School Policy	6	12	6/28/2012 4:15 PM
STUDENTS	0	0	7/15/2012 5:14 PM
Academic Level	3	27	7/15/2012 6:20 PM
Homogeneity - Heterogeneity	2	3	7/15/2012 5:15 PM
Students' Conceptions	1	3	7/15/2012 7:10 PM
TEACHERS	0	0	7/15/2012 11:54 AM
Coherence	1	1	7/15/2012 5:08 PM
Conceptions of Civic Educati	0	0	7/15/2012 11:45 AM
Community Conception	2	3	7/15/2012 6:14 PM
Critical Conception	10	35	7/15/2012 11:46 AM
Participatory Conception	10	49	7/15/2012 11:45 AM
Patriotic Conception	3	3	7/15/2012 6:15 PM
Traditional Conception	8	57	7/15/2012 11:45 AM
Goals	9	25	7/15/2012 12:15 PM
Pedagogies	0	0	7/15/2012 11:49 AM
Concrete Examples	6	13	6/28/2012 4:14 PM
Current Events	8	15	7/15/2012 12:14 PM
Devils Advocate	6	13	6/28/2012 4:29 PM
Discussion	4	14	7/15/2012 12:14 PM
Documents	6	8	7/15/2012 12:44 PM
Field Trip	1	1	7/15/2012 7:20 PM
Guest Speakers	1	2	7/15/2012 12:17 PM
Mirroring	1	1	7/17/2012 5:53 PM
Mock Parliament	1	1	7/15/2012 12:42 PM
Philosophy	3	7	7/15/2012 6:31 PM
Relevance	7	19	7/15/2012 12:49 PM
Role Model	8	18	6/28/2012 5:13 PM
Rote Regurgitation	6	35	7/15/2012 12:27 PM
Shock Treatment	1	1	7/15/2012 6:17 PM
Spiral	1	3	7/15/2012 6:33 PM
Use of Film	4	7	6/28/2012 4:37 PM
Personal Background	6	12	6/28/2012 4:02 PM
Personal Views	1	1	7/15/2012 6:46 PM
The Democratic Soul	5	9	7/15/2012 5:11 PM
The Good Citizen	4	6	6/28/2012 4:03 PM
The Teacher's Role	3	3	6/28/2012 4:12 PM

APPENDIX E – Sample Quotes Compiled Under Code “Participatory Conception”

Reference 1 - 1.71% Coverage

A	Its active citizenship. A good citizen is a citizen that is active – politically and in his everyday life: he reads the news, writes talkbacks and constantly asks questions about his life and about the society in which he lives. A citizen shouldn't be stagnant (קופא על שמריו).	
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Reference 2 - 3.15% Coverage

A	I take actions so that they don't go to the negative aspect. I try to empower the students after the critical act. For example after the movie we saw (על קו 300) one student offered that we should meet with the people in it. I told her that she should write them and not me because it will be better if it comes from a student. In this sense watching the movie could have gone to a critical approach but with offering the students to take action I avoided that. Empowering them was the important act in this case.	
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Reference 3 - 3.81% Coverage

I	So you are critical but you always leave a place where the students can take action?	
A	Yes, I try to show them to be active in their own way. Another example is a teacher that they had a problem with. I told them that they need to write the school administration. One student replied that he is afraid that if they send such a letter it will affect their grades. I answered back saying that maybe a few points on a grade is something worth sacrificing in this case, for the basic values you believe in. Something I use is the class website – I created an option to leave me an anonymous message.	empowerment

Reference 4 - 1.52% Coverage

A	The citizenship I promote is that they will know about the march and then decide on their own if they want to participate. It is like the drawing of the person with the lines around them. What is important is that they are aware to what is going on. Now it is important to point out that I am their homeroom teacher so I know a lot about them and I know each ones context. This is an important factor in my teaching of them –	Context.
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APPENDIX F - Informed Consent Form

Teachers College, Columbia University

INFORMED CONSENT

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH: You are invited to participate in a research study on the ways in which different personal conceptions of citizenship and civic education influence the teaching of civics. The purpose of the study is to identify successful practices and develop strategies in order to enhance the teaching of civics based on these conceptions. You will be asked to agree to observation to be held in your classroom as well as participate in in-depth interviews. The research will be conducted by the key researcher. The research will be conducted at your classroom and office.

RISKS AND BENEFITS: The risks and possible benefits associated with this study are an uncomfortable feeling due to topic of personal conceptions of citizenship. The main benefits of the study will be the opportunity to engage in a reflection of your own practice. If at any stage you choose not to participate in any aspect of the study we will find alternative avenues.

Please note: The IRB does not consider any research to be "free of risk" or "no risk." For example, use such language as "The research has the same amount of risk students will encounter during a usual classroom activity."

DATA STORAGE TO PROTECT CONFIDENTIALITY: Participation in this study will be on a voluntary basis. Pseudonyms will be assigned in the final presentation of findings. All materials connected to the participants, such as the investigator's field notes or teacher generated files, will be exterminated at the end of the study.

TIME INVOLVEMENT: Your participation will take approximately 5 weeks.

HOW WILL RESULTS BE USED: The results of the study will be used for my dissertation. I may present the results in conferences and in future publications.

Teachers College, Columbia University

PARTICIPANT'S RIGHTS

Principal Investigator: Aviv Cohen

Research Title: Conceptions of Civic Education: Lessons from Three Israeli Civics Classrooms

I have read and discussed the Research Description with the researcher. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the purposes and procedures regarding this study.

- My participation in research is voluntary. I may refuse to participate or withdraw from participation at any time without jeopardy to future medical care, employment, student status or other entitlements.
- The researcher may withdraw me from the research at his/her professional discretion.
- If, during the course of the study, significant new information that has been developed becomes available which may relate to my willingness to continue to participate, the investigator will provide this information to me.
- Any information derived from the research project that personally identifies me will not be voluntarily released or disclosed without my separate consent, except as specifically required by law.
- If at any time I have any questions regarding the research or my participation, I can contact the investigator, who will answer my questions. The investigator's phone number is (+972)52-7962954.
- If at any time I have comments, or concerns regarding the conduct of the research or questions about my rights as a research subject, I should contact the Teachers College, Columbia University Institutional Review Board /IRB. The phone number for the IRB is (212) 678-4105. Or, I can write to the IRB at Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 W. 120th Street, New York, NY, 10027, Box 151.
- I should receive a copy of the Research Description and this Participant's Rights document.
- If video and/or audio taping is part of this research, I () consent to be audio/video taped. I () do NOT consent to being video/audio taped. The written, video and/or audio taped materials will be viewed only by the principal investigator and members of the research team.
- Written, video and/or audio taped materials () may be viewed in an educational setting outside the research

() may NOT be viewed in an educational setting outside the research.

- My signature means that I agree to participate in this study.

Participant's signature: _____ Date: ____/____/____

Name: _____